

# VIJAYANAGAR

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

Ch. XI and XII of  
*A History of South India*

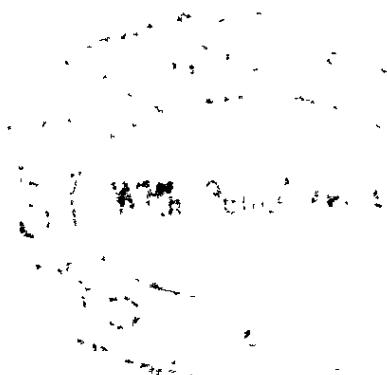
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# A History of SOUTH INDIA

*from Prehistoric Times  
to the Fall of Vijayanagar*

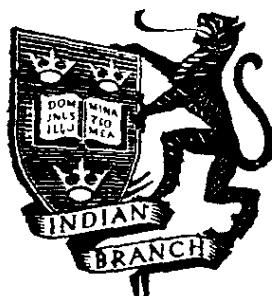
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## CHAPTER XI

# THE BĀHMANĪS AND THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGAR

First Khilji invasion of the Deccan and subjugation of Devagiri—subsequent invasions—Malik Kafur—invasion of Hoysala and Pāndya countries—Hindu reaction—kingdom of Kampili—Pāndya civil war and Tughlak invasion—end of the Yādava and Kākatīya kingdoms—rebellion of Baha-ud-Din Garshasp and its results—fall of Kampili—movement for liberation—Kāpaya Nāyaka and Ballāla III—Harihara and Bukka—Vidyāranya—foundation of Vijayanagar—Sultanate of Madura and Ballāla III—expansion of Vijayanagar till 1346.

Foundation of the Bāhmanī kingdom—Ala-ud-din I Bahman Shah—Muhammad I—Mujahid—Daud—Muhammad II—Ghiyas-ud-din—Shams-ud-din—Firuz—Ala-ud-din II Ahmad—Humayun—Nizam Shah—Muhammad III—Mahmud—end of the Bāhmanī kingdom—nominal rule of the four sons of Mahmud.

THE sultanate of Delhi was established towards the close of the twelfth century, and for a hundred years thereafter its attention was confined to Northern India. The idea of subjugating the Deccan and the land beyond began with the Khiljis, although the first Muslim attack on a Deccani kingdom was a quasi-private enterprise planned in secret and carried out with suddenness. The story is that Garshasp Malik, the future Ala-ud-din, nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Jalal-ud-din, resented the supercilious conduct of his wife towards him and wanted to punish her. Before he could do so, however, he had first to gather strength and resources enough to be able to oppose the sultan and his sons. First he obtained the sultan's permission to lead an expedition against Malwa, but in fact went much farther south and advanced rapidly against the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri (February 1296) at a time when its army was engaged on a distant expedition. The reigning king, Rāmadeva, was overwhelmed by the swiftness of the onslaught, and sued for peace at the end of a week's siege of his capital. He surrendered much treasure and many elephants and horses, and even gave one of his daughters in marriage to the conqueror. When Sangama, his son, heard of the threat to the capital, he hastened back with his army and wanted to resume hostilities. By the time he arrived, however, peace had been

concluded, Rāmadeva was in the hands of the enemy, and Sangama himself also had to make his submission, at least for the time. Rāmadeva's kingdom was restored and he and Ala-ud-din exchanged vows of lifelong friendship. The treasure he took from Devagiri played no small part in paving Ala-ud-din's way to the throne which he seized soon after by murdering Jalal-ud-din.

As sultan, Ala-ud-din pursued a policy of plunder and loot in the South in preference to the extension of his territories. In 1303-4 he sent an expedition against Warangal by way of Bengal. It was led by Malik Fakhr-ud-din Juna (later Muhammad bin Tughlak) and ended in failure; the Telugu army met the invader before he could reach Warangal, inflicted severe losses on him, and compelled him to retreat. This disaster so lowered the prestige of the sultanate in the Deccan, that Sangama of Devagiri withheld the tribute his father had agreed to pay and gave shelter to the refugee king of Gujarat and his daughter who had fled their country to escape falling into the hands of the sultan's forces. Either out of loyalty to Ala-ud-din or pursuit of a deeper policy, Rāmadeva denounced his son, and asked Ala-ud-din to take steps to restore his authority before it was too late. An army was sent immediately (1307) under the sultan's favourite slave Malik Kafur; Sangama was defeated near Devagiri and fled. Malik Kafur plundered the city, took possession of the kingdom in the name of his master and carried off Rāmadeva and his family as prisoners to Delhi. But the sultan treated Rāmadeva with great kindness; he kept him by his side for six months before sending him back, loaded with money and presents, to rule over a kingdom extended by the addition of portions of Gujarat. The sultan's generosity was rewarded, for Rāmadeva remained loyal to him for the rest of his life and gave valuable aid to his forces in their operations in the South.

Late in 1309 Malik Kafur was sent against Warangal to wipe out the disgrace of the last defeat sustained by the imperial armies at that place. He first proceeded to Devagiri where Rāmadeva was all attention to his requirements. Thence he crossed the Yādava territories and entered the Telugu country, reaching the neighbourhood of Warangal by rapid marches early in 1310. The siege of the double-walled city lasted a month; the outer fortress was taken by storm, and the consequent overcrowding in the inner fort made it imperative for Pratāparudra to open negotiations with the invader. The sultan's price for raising the siege was the

surrender of a vast amount of treasure, many elephants and horses, and an annual tribute. Malik Kafur returned to Delhi with the booty in June 1310 where he was received with honours by his master.

Early next year, Malik Kafur again set out on another expedition to the South, this time against the kingdoms of Dōrasamudra and Ma'bar, i.e., the Hoysala and Pāndya kingdoms in the far South. Devagiri again became the base of operations, where Rāmadeva was glad to offer help, for the Hoysala ruler, Ballāla III, was no friend of his, having at one time seized some of his territory. Kafur's army waited to attack the Hoysalas until Ballāla was away on an expedition in the Pāndya country. That land was disturbed by quarrels among Kulaśekhara's sons, and Ballāla hoped to turn the situation to his advantage and to regain territory that Kulaśekhara had seized some time before. Kafur's advance was therefore practically unchecked and he spread destruction and panic throughout his journey to the Hoysala capital. Ballāla returned in haste, but saw that resistance was hopeless, and overruled his nobles and officers who wanted to fight. He consented to become a tributary (*zimmi*) to the sultan and to surrender his wealth, elephants and horses.

Kafur spent less than a fortnight in Dōrasamudra, and then started towards Ma'bar. Ballāla accompanied him and guided the army along the difficult mountain routes that led from the tableland to the plains. Though divided among themselves, the Pāndya princes were at one in resisting the invader, harassing him incessantly, but avoiding pitched battles and taking care not to shut themselves in fortresses that might easily be reduced. Malik Kafur first marched against Bir Dhūl, the capital of Vira Pāndya in the neighbourhood of Urāiyūr. The king escaped before the city fell into the enemy's hands, and Kafur's further operations were hampered by rains. He braved the weather, however, and pursued Vira Pāndya who was reported to have fled to Kandūr (not identified). On the way he seized a convoy of treasure from the backs of a hundred and twenty elephants, but even when he reached Kandūr, and took it, there was no sign of Vira Pāndya. He therefore marched to Kānchipuram (or Marhatpuri to the Muslim historians) where he plundered and desecrated the temples before returning to Bir Dhūl. Thence he planned a sudden descent upon Madura, the Pāndya's main capital, where Sundara Pāndya was king; but Sundara was forewarned and abandoned the city,

taking his family and treasure into the country. At this stage Vikrama Pāndya, Sundara's uncle, came out of retirement to lead the Pāndyas against the Muslims and inflicted a decisive defeat on them. Malik Kafur was 'obliged to retreat and bring back his army'; but he managed to keep the vast booty he had taken from Vīra Pāndya and convey it safely to Delhi. He reached the imperial capital in October 1311 and later presented Ballāla III's son to the sultan, speaking highly of the help the invaders had received from his father. The Hindu prince was treated with kindness and then sent back to his father whose kingdom was also returned to him. The Ma'bar expedition was thus only a military raid, and not a very successful one at that; it had no permanent results, though indeed South India was drained of a vast amount of treasure: 'six hundred and twelve elephants, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and twenty thousand horses', according to Barni.

About a year later, in 1312, Rāmadeva died and his son Sangama came to the throne of Devagiri. His hostility to the sultanate was well known, and Malik Kafur was sent out with an army once again, this time to seize and annex the Yādava kingdom to the empire of Delhi. This was easily accomplished, without any fighting, as Sangama fled. Kafur behaved with moderation to convince the people that they had nothing to fear from their new rulers. He regulated administrative affairs with commendable wisdom, though in one respect he was inexorable; he insisted on pulling down temples and erecting mosques in their place. A great mosque was built at Devagiri itself and named after the sultan in accordance with his wishes. Nevertheless, considerable areas of the Yādava kingdom did not submit to the new rule, and the kingdom of Kampili proclaimed its independence under Singeya Nāyaka and his more famous son Kampiladeva. This new kingdom included the present Bellary, Raichur and Dharwar districts, and three important forts—Kampili itself, Kummata and Hosadurg (Ane-gondi?—all on the Tungabhadra. Malik Kafur led one indecisive expedition against Kampili; and before he could make another attempt he was recalled to Delhi where he died in the political revolution that intervened between the death of Ala-ud-din (1316) and the accession of Kutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah.

The same revolution led to the voluntary withdrawal of the Muslim government from Devagiri because Kafur recalled the

lieutenant he had left behind. Harapāla Deva, Rāmadeva's son-in-law, was thus able to re-establish the Yādava power for a time, but soon after his accession, Mubarak Khilji again marched south in 1318, with an army led by his favourite slave Khusrau Khan, resolved to retake Devagiri. The reduction of Harapāla involved some hard fighting in mountainous country; he was wounded in the final encounter, taken prisoner and put to death—flayed alive, according to Barni. The sultan's return to Delhi was delayed by rains, so during his enforced stay in Devagiri he reorganized the administration. Malik Yak Lakhy was made governor of Devagiri; subordinate officers and collectors of revenue were stationed at different places, and garrisons posted at strategic points. An attempt to force a garrison on the Hoysala capital Dōrasamudra failed. When the sultan returned to Delhi (August 1318) he left Khusrau Khan behind to deal with Pratāparudra II of Warangal who had not sent his annual tribute after the death of Ala-ud-din. Khusrau therefore marched in, collected all the arrears due and easily restored the sultan's supremacy.

Shortly afterwards, however, Khusrau had to march south again to suppress the rebellious governor of Devagiri and then to bring the country of Ma'bar under Muslim rule. Malik Yak Lakhy had set up independent rule under the title Shams-ud-din and began to mint coins in his own name; but his easygoing and profligate nature made him thoroughly unpopular, so that the nobles of his court joined together to capture him and hand him over to Khusrau when he advanced towards Devagiri. The unfortunate rebel was sent, bound hand and foot, to Delhi, while Khusrau proceeded further southward.

The civil war between Vīra Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya continued after Malik Kafur's return (1311). Sundara fared so badly in the struggle that at first he sought Muslim aid which was given only in very small measure and availed him little. The ruler of south Travancore, Ravivarman Kulaśekhara, who professed allegiance to Sundara till about 1312, took advantage of the confusion to invade the Pāndya country and marched as far north as Kānchipuram. Vīra Pāndya seems to have joined him, and Sundara Pāndya appealed to the Kākatiya ruler Pratāparudra II for aid. A large army was sent in his support in 1317, under the leadership of Muppidi Nāyaka, the governor of Nellore, who defeated Ravivarman Kulaśekhara and Vīra Pāndya, compelled the former

to withdraw into his own kingdom, and installed Sundara Pāndya on the throne at Viradhavalapattanam (Bir Dhūl). Then came Khusrau's invasion. The Pāndya followed his usual policy of evading battle by evacuating his capital, taking his family and all his wealth with him. A rich Muslim merchant who stayed behind hoping his religion would protect him was robbed and insulted by Khusrau, and finally committed suicide. Nevertheless, Khusrau's expedition was not a success. Rains hampered his movements; and, what is more, he himself seems to have contemplated rebellion. When this was discovered and disapproved of by his followers, he had to submit to being carried back in fetters to Delhi.

The political revolution in Delhi which ended Khilji rule and ushered in that of the Tughlaks gave Pratāparudra II the opportunity of declaring himself free once again. His example spread and caused disaffection even in that part of Mahārāshtra which was under a governor of the sultanate. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak resolved, therefore, to do away with the Hindu kingdoms of the South one after another until the sway of Islam extended to Cape Comorin. He began in 1321 by sending against the kingdom of Warangal an expedition led by his son and heir, Ulugh Khan. The army marched as usual by way of Devagiri, laying waste the country and investing fortresses as soon as it entered Telengana. Pratāparudra retreated and shut himself and his forces up in the well stocked and strongly fortified capital city. The siege that followed lasted six months, at the end of which dissensions arose in the camp of the invaders, his lieutenants turned against Ulugh Khan and entered into negotiations with Pratāparudra. The Hindu monarch agreed to let them go back in peace, and when they did so, he fell upon the rump of the army under Ulugh Khan and compelled it also to retreat. Nor was it left in peace until Ulugh Khan entered into negotiations with the rebel section of his army and succeeded in interposing it between himself and the Warangal forces, so that his further retreat to Devagiri might be unhampered. On his way, however, he came by another section of the army which, under the command of Majir Abu Rija, was engaged in the vain attempt to reduce the fortress of Kotgir. Majir was cordial to Ulugh Khan and offered to help him in dealing with his rebel lieutenants; he sent instructions round that zamindars and heads of districts were to attack the rebels, seize them and send their chiefs to the court of the king. He then accompanied Ulugh Khan

back to Devagiri. His way of dealing with the rebels proved effective; some of them fell fighting, others fled and hid themselves, and others were caught and sent to Delhi to be executed under the orders of the sultan.

Elated by his success against the invader, Pratāparudra dispersed the troops and provisions he had gathered in his capital, and acted as if he had secured perpetual immunity from further attack. To Ghiyas-ud-din, on the other hand, the failure of his son in Telingana was but a spur to a further and stronger effort to reduce that country. He sent large reinforcements to Devagiri, and Ulugh Khan soon led a second expedition against the Kākatiya kingdom. Bidar on its western frontier and several other forts including Bodhan were captured by the invading troops, and Warangal itself invested. Ill-prepared as Pratāparudra was, he held out for five months after which famine compelled him to sue for peace. He delivered himself and his family into the hands of Ulugh Khan (1323) who sent him under a strong escort to Delhi, but he seems to have put an end to his own life on the way. Ulugh Khan plundered and devastated Warangal, and subjugated the rest of the country by fighting where resistance was offered, but generally by accepting the submission of the Hindu chieftains in the different localities.

Ulugh Khan also sent an army into Ma'bar. The country was conquered and, for a time, brought under the sway of Delhi, whither the Pāndya king, Parākramadeva, was taken as a prisoner. Ma'bar, in fact, was still counted as a province of the Delhi empire when sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak made Devagiri its capital in 1326. Ulugh Khan led yet another expedition against Jajnagar in the Ganga kingdom of Orissa. Here his aim was not so much to conquer that kingdom as to secure the frontier of Warangal on that side.

Thus at the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak considerable portions of the Deccan and South India acknowledged the sovereignty of the Delhi sultanate. Devagiri and Warangal were under the effective control of imperial officers, and a viceroy was set over distant Ma'bar charged with the duty of consolidating the new conquests and firmly establishing and extending imperial authority. Prominent among the Hindu states that still continued to enjoy their independence were Kampili and Dōrasamudra. The famous king of Kampili, himself called Kampiladeva, rose to prominence

in the first years of the fourteenth century when he rendered valuable service to his suzerain Rāmadeva of Devagiri in the wars against Hoysala Ballāla III. He was a consistent opponent of the growing power of Islam in the South, but was much hampered by his feuds with the neighbouring states of Dōrasamudra and Wārangal. All the same, he built up a kingdom of considerable size which included parts of the present-day Anantapur, Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts besides Raichur, Dharwar and Bellary; the Krishna river separated it from the Maratha province of the Delhi empire. He treated with contempt a demand for tribute from the officers of the Tughlak sultanate, and entered into friendly negotiations with Baha-ud-din Garshasp, a cousin of Muhammad bin Tughlak and governor of Sagar, in the neighbourhood of Gulbarga, who had some grievance against his cousin, laid claim to the Delhi throne, and set up the standard of revolt. Thereupon the sultan ordered Malik Zada, governor of Gujarat, and Majir Abu Rija, governor of Devagiri, to deal with the rebel. A battle on the banks of the Godāvari ended disastrously for Garshasp who fled to Sagar pursued by the victorious imperial army. He soon left Sagar with his women and children and took refuge with Kampiladeva. Meanwhile the sultan had taken the field in person and come down to Devagiri where he got news of the defeat of Garshasp and of his flight to Kampili. The task of reducing the defiant Hindu ruler who harboured the defeated rebel engaged his attention at once, but it proved more troublesome than he had anticipated, and two expeditions failed to take the strong fortress of Kummata. The third attempt led by Malik Zada ended in success; Kummata was overthrown, and Kampiladeva was forced to shut himself up in Hosadurg (Anegondi?), which was invested on all sides by the sultan's troops. Lack of provisions made it impossible for the besieged to hold out longer than a month; but meanwhile, Kampiladeva succeeded in sending Garshasp and his family to the court of Dōrasamudra, commanding them to the care of Ballāla III. Kampiladeva met his end with courage and determination. He announced to his women that he had made up his mind to die fighting, and advised them to burn themselves in advance to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. They did so cheerfully, and their example was followed by the wives and daughters of the ministers and nobles of the kingdom. Thereupon Kampiladeva and his followers sallied out of the fort, fell upon the enemy and

wrought havoc in their ranks before they fell in the fight. Kampila-deva's head was stuffed and sent to the sultan to announce the victory, and a garrison was posted at Hosadurg to hold the country round about (1327).

Malik Zada then began to plan an invasion of the Hoysala kingdom in pursuit of Baha-ud-din. Ballāla III had no mind to risk his kingdom and fortune by sheltering a rebel Muslim sent to him by Kampila, with whom he had never been friendly. He therefore seized Baha-ud-din when he presented himself and sent him to Malik Zada, at the same time acknowledging the supremacy of the sultan of Delhi. This pleased Malik Zada who withdrew his forces and returned to Devagiri.

For some time after the fall of Kampili, Muhammad bin Tughlak remained in Devagiri, making arrangements to complete the transfer of the imperial capital to that place. Also, after a siege of eight months, he captured the strong fortress at Kandhyāna (Sinhagad) near Poona, and forced its Hindu chieftain, Nāga Nāyaka, ruler of the Kolis, into subjection. Nāga Nāyaka was treated with honour when he made his submission and the fort passed into the hands of the sultan who returned north very shortly afterwards.

With pardonable exaggeration, Muslim historians include the whole of the Deccan and South India in the empire of Delhi in this period (1324-35). They divide it into the five provinces of Devagiri, Tiling, Kampili, Dōrasamudra and Ma'bar; some adding Jajnagar (Orissa) as a sixth, although there is less justification for this. Each of these provinces had a governor (*naib*) set over it who was assisted by a military coadjutor in charge of the provincial army, and a *kotwal* who policed the capital of the province. Except in Devagiri, however, the power of the sultan was nowhere firmly established. Dōrasamudra, for example, owed nothing more than nominal allegiance, and the bulk of the people—especially in the rural areas—was not reconciled to the new rule. The system of *iqtas* (military fiefs) by which the land was parcelled out among Muslim chieftains who had to maintain a quota of troops and pay a stipulated amount to the treasury did not make for peace or smooth administration. No wonder that this loose fabric crumbled quickly at the first touch of revolt which came naturally not long after.

The movement for the liberation of the Deccan from the Muslims may be said to have begun immediately after the sultan left for Northern India in 1329. The people had never willingly accepted

Muslim rule. At this time, moreover, they and their leaders were under the influence of a strong revival of Śaivism and in no mood to submit passively to the profanation and destruction of their temples and to the corruption and overthrow of their long-established usages. In its single-minded devotion to Śiva, its fanatical intolerance of the followers of any other creed, whom it stigmatized as *bhāvis* (infidels), and in its ideal of perfect equality among the *bhaktas*, the new Śaivism was a worthy rival of Islam, and the impetus it gave to politics had not a little to do with the failure of Tughlak rule to take root in many parts of the Deccan. The abrogation of religious and charitable endowments, and the extortions to which the farmers and artisans were subjected by the sultan and his provincial governors, added the stimulus of material interest and strengthened the movement for liberation. Prominent among its leaders were Prolaya Nāyaka and his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka, the Kanhaya Nāyaka of Muslim historians. Tradition affirms that no fewer than seventy-five lesser Nāyakas heartily assisted them in their enterprise, the celebrated Prolaya Vema, founder of the Reddi kingdom of Addanki and Kondavīdu, among them. By 1331, or a little later, the entire coastal region from the Mahanadi to the Gundlakamma in Nellore district had been freed from the Muslims, and Hindu chieftains had entered upon the task of restoring and reconstructing the civic life of the people on its old lines. At the same time, Somadeva, who claimed descent from the ancient line of the Chālukyas and became the progenitor of the later Aravīdu kings of Vijayanagar, led the Hindus of the western Telugu country in revolt against their Muslim overlord Malik Muhammad, governor of Kampili. With the centre of his power in the neighbourhood of Kurnool, he seized the forts of Anegondi, Raichur and Mudgal. As the Hoysala Ballāla III also threw off his allegiance to the sultan and invaded the province of Kampili, Malik Muhammad was helpless. He told the sultan (as Nuniz records) that 'the land was risen against him', 'everyone was lord of what he pleased, and no one was on his side'; the people came to 'besiege him in the fortress, allowing no provisions to go in to him, nor paying him the taxes that had been forced on them'. On the advice of his councillors that order could only be restored by someone connected with the late Rāja of Kampili, the sultan sent Harihara and his brother Bukka to govern the province of Kampili after taking oaths and pledges of loyalty from them.

Harihara and Bukka belonged to a family of five brothers, all sons of Sangama. They were at first in the service of Pratāparudra II, but after the Muslim conquest of his kingdom in 1323 they went over to Kampili. When Kampili also fell in 1327, they became prisoners and were carried off to Delhi where, because they embraced Islam, they stood well with the sultan. Now, once again, they were sent to the province of Kampili to take over its administration from Malik Muhammad and to deal with the revolt of the Hindu subjects. What really happened after their arrival in the South does not emerge clearly from the conflicting versions of Muslim historians and Hindu tradition. Both are agreed, however, that the two trusted lieutenants of the sultanate very soon gave up Islam and the cause of Delhi, and proceeded to set up an independent Hindu state which soon grew into the powerful empire of Vijayanagar. They started by doing the work of the sultan, their former connexion with Anegondi making their task easy, though their Muslim faith set some people against them. They followed a policy of conciliation which pacified the people, and only used force where it was absolutely necessary.

Gutti and its neighbourhood appear to have acknowledged Harihara earlier than the rest of the country, but a war undertaken against Ballāla III was not very successful at first. Then, Hindu tradition avers, the brothers met the sage Vidyāranya and, fired by his teaching, returned to the Hindu fold and accepted the mission of upholding the Hindu cause against Islam. A second expedition against Ballāla had better results, and left Harihara free to pursue his schemes of conquest and consolidation.

Meanwhile important political changes elsewhere proclaimed the approaching doom of the Tughlak empire in the South. Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah, the governor of Ma'bar, asserted his independence after doing away with the loyal lieutenants of the sultan, and began to issue gold and silver coins in his own name from Madura (1333-4). Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak got news of the revolt and marched to Wārangal, where the outbreak of an epidemic decimated his army and the sultan himself caught the infection. He therefore had to retrace his steps, having achieved nothing, and thus destroyed what remained of the prestige of the Delhi sultanate in the South. A false rumour that the sultan had died of the plague added to the confusion, and the rebels, both Hindu and Muslim, felt greatly heartened.

Prolaya Nāyaka was dead, but his work was continued by his cousin Kāpaya. He saw that the considerable number of *amirs* and their slaves, the Muslim merchants and the numbers of Hindu converts to Islam scattered all over the country, might throw effective obstacles in the way of his attempts to restore Hindu rule and Hindu *dharma* in the Deccan. He set about his work with caution and entered into an understanding with Ballāla III of Dōrasamudra, who was the most powerful Hindu ruler in the South at that time. Ballāla strengthened the northern marches of his kingdom and prepared to meet any attacks from Devagiri. He also sent aid to Kāpaya Nāyaka in his struggle against the Muslims in Telengana where a defeat was inflicted on Malik Maqbul, the governor of Wārangal, who fled to Devagiri, and thence to Delhi, leaving Telengana free from Muslim rule (1336). Soon after, Kāpaya and Ballāla together entered the northern districts of Ma'bar, the area known as Tondaimandalam. They ousted the Muslim garrisons from the forts of that country and entrusted the task of its administration to a scion of the line of Śāmbuvarāyas, the native rulers of the region at the time. Other Hindu kingdoms came up elsewhere. The Koppula chiefs of Pithāpuram made themselves masters of the coastal region from the Godāvari to Kalinga; the Reddis of Kondavidu formed a principality which extended from Śrīsailam to the Bay of Bengal; and the Velamas raised a small state round Rājakonda in the hilly tract of the Nalgonda district of Andhrapradesh. The power of the Tughlak sultans was thus completely broken all over the Deccan except in the Maratha provinces. In Ma'bar half the territory had been recovered for Hindu rule, and although the rest was held by a Muslim ruler, he was a rebel against the sultan.

We may well believe that this general anti-Islamic movement did much to disturb the loyalty of Harihara and Bukka to the sultan and to kindle in their minds a longing to serve their country and their ancestral religion in the old way. Their meeting with Vidyāranya ('Forest of Learning') thus probably furnished them with the best and perhaps the only means of following the promptings of their hearts; it needed a spiritual leader of his eminence to receive them back from Islam into Hinduism and to render the act generally acceptable to Hindu society. Thus it happened that the trusted Muslim agents of the sultan of Delhi, who were sent to restore his power in the Deccan, turned out to be the founders of

one of the greatest Hindu states of history which later distinguished itself pre-eminently in the defence of ancient Hindu culture against the onslaughts of Islam. After establishing their sway over Kampili at first for the sultan, and conquering more territory in the same manner, the two Sangama brothers returned to the Hindu fold, proclaimed their independence, and founded a new city opposite to Anegondi on the south bank of the Tungabhadra to which they gave the significant names Vijayanagara ('City of Victory') and Vidyānagara ('City of Learning'), the second name commemorating the role of Vidyāranya in these momentous events. Here, in the presence of God Virūpāksha, Harihara I celebrated his coronation in proper Hindu style on 18 April 1336. He undertook the rule of the kingdom as the agent of the deity to whom all the land south of the Krishna river was supposed to belong, and his successors kept up the practice he started of authenticating all their acts of state by the sign manual of Śri Virūpāksha.

Ballāla's part in the establishment of Śāmbuvarāya power in the northern districts of Ma'bar involved him in continuous hostilities with the newly-established sultanate of Madura and this led very soon to the absorption of the Hoysala kingdom in the rising state of Vijayanagar. At Madura, Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah fell by assassination (1340) after a rule of five years, and was succeeded by one of his *amirs*, Ala-ud-din Udaūji, a warlike prince who planned an expedition against Ballāla. The Hoysala monarch stationed himself at Tiruvannamalai in 1340; Udaūji's invasion came in 1341; but in the hour of victory an arrow shot by an unknown hand struck him and he died at once. Ballāla converted defeat into victory, and for a time it looked like the end of the small Muslim state of Madura. The late sultan's son-in-law was put on the throne by the nobles, but being found unsatisfactory he was murdered. The next ruler was Ghiyas-ud-din Damghani, a blood-thirsty monster not, however, devoid of ability. At the time of his accession, Ballāla was investing the strong fortress of Kannanūr-Koppam, after a decisive victory against the Muslim forces in the open field. The siege lasted for six months at the end of which Ballāla acted with unaccountable folly and brought on his own doom. When the besieged forces opened negotiations, he consented to allow them to get into touch with the sultan at Madura to settle the terms of surrender; this naturally led to Ghiyas-ud-din's marching quickly to the relief of the beleaguered garrison with some

4,000 troopers, all he could gather in the straits to which he found himself reduced. Ballāla was taken completely by surprise when his camp was attacked by the Madura army. Nasir-ud-din, the sultan's nephew and afterwards his successor, overtook an old man and was about to kill him when one of his slaves identified him as the Hindu sovereign; he was then made prisoner and taken before the sultan. Treating him at first with apparent consideration, Ghiyas-ud-din persuaded him to part with all his riches, horses and elephants; and then had him killed and flayed. 'His skin was stuffed with straw and hung upon the wall of Madura, where,' says Ibn Batuta, 'I saw it in the same position' (1342).

Ballāla III was succeeded by his son Virūpāksha Ballāla IV who held his coronation in August 1343; but this is all we know of him, for his kingdom was overrun and annexed by the newly risen kingdom of Vijayanagar. Bukka had seized Penugonda while Ballāla III was still alive, and his tragic end enabled Bukka to complete the work of conquest. He was firmly established in the vicinity of Hosapattana and Harihar in the middle of 1344, and 'the circle of earth belonging to the Hoysala family' had become 'an ornament to his arm'. The conquest of Tulu-nād on the west coast followed soon after; that country had been conquered by Ballāla III and made part of his kingdom, but had regained its independence at the end of his reign. In 1345, or perhaps even earlier, it acknowledged the supremacy of Harihara whose brothers, in the decade that followed the foundation of Vijayanagar, were engaged in expanding their power over other territory and in bringing the smaller kingdoms under their suzerainty. As early as 1340, Bādami had become part of the new empire.

If the new danger from Islam was to be effectively combated, it was necessary that the power of the various Hindu states should be consolidated by welding them into one strong state, and that they should be prevented from continuing in their normal condition of mutual hostility. Harihara had gone a long way towards securing this so that, in 1346, the entire family of five brothers and their chief relatives and lieutenants could meet at Śringeri, the seat of the Hindu pontiff, to celebrate the conquest of dominions extending from sea to sea by holding a great festival (*vijayotsava*) in the presence of the most eminent spiritual leader of the Hindu community.

But the very next year (1347) witnessed the birth of the Muslim sultanate of the Deccan which made the danger from Islam to the Hindu culture of the South much more immediate and constant. Harihara and his brothers had not entered upon their work a day too soon. In the rest of this chapter we shall trace the rise and history of the Bāhmani sultanate, reserving the further history of Vijayanagar for the next.

The Bāhmani kingdom arose out of one of the many revolts that broke up the Tughlak empire towards the close of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The numerous foreign officials of the revenue department in the province of Daulatabad fell under the suspicion of the sultan because they had failed to collect the enormous revenue which they were required to make up; these 'amirs of the hundred' or 'centurions' were sent under escort by the governor of Daulatabad to Broach in accordance with the sultan's orders. But news of the sultan's merciless killing of the centurions of the neighbouring province of Malwa reached them, and they were by no means inclined to submit tamely to such treatment. They therefore revolted at the end of the first day's march, returned to Daulatabad, imprisoned its weak governor, and proclaimed one among themselves, Ismail Mukh, the Afghan, king of the Deccan under the title Nasir-ud-din Shah. An imperial army led by Muhammad himself soon made its appearance on the scene from Broach, defeated the rebels and shut them up in the citadel of Daulatabad. Some of them, including Ismail Mukh's brothers, contrived to make their escape to Gulbarga under the leadership of Hasan Gangu *alias* Zafar Khan. After about three months, Hasan gathered a considerable army, including some contingents from Kāpaya Nāyaka of Wārangal, and marched to Bidar. Meanwhile, Muhammad was called away by a rebellion in Gujarat, and Hasan easily defeated and dispersed an imperial army after slaying its commander. As he approached Daulatabad, the royal troops gave up the siege and retired to Malwa. The aged and ease-loving Nasir-ud-din Ismail Shah, the new king of the Deccan, now readily abdicated his troublesome charge in favour of Hasan who proclaimed himself ruler of the Deccan on 3 August 1347 under the name Sultan Abu'l Muzaffar Ala-ud-din Bāhman Shah. He is said to have traced his descent from a half-mythical hero of Persia, Bāhman, the son of Isfandiyar. Ferishta, however, records that he called himself Gangu Bāhmani,

in honour of the Brahmin Gangu whose slave he had formerly been.

Sultan Ala-ud-din Bāhman Shah reigned for eleven years till his death in February 1358. He spent most of his time waging war or conducting negotiations calculated to extend the territory under his sway. He had to encounter much opposition at first from nobles who were or professed to be loyal to their Tughlak suzerain. By a judicious mixture of force and clemency, Ala-ud-din changed the situation in a few years. Even Kāpaya Nāyaka of Wārangal had to surrender the fort of Kaulas and promise him tribute. As early as 1349 he attacked the territory of Vijayanagar and captured Karaichur. Five years later, as a result of an understanding with the new sultan of Madura who was a relative of his, Ala-ud-din attacked Vijayanagar a second time. While Muslim accounts claim for him the conquest of all territory up to the Tungabhadra, Hindu sources say that Harihara I inflicted a defeat on the sultan. However that may be, Ala-ud-din had become master of an extensive kingdom when he died. It extended up to the sea on the west and included the ports of Goa and Dabhol, the eastern limit was marked by Bhongir, while the Penganga and Krishna rivers bounded the kingdom on the north and the south. He gained recognition from the caliph, and his coin legend, 'A second Alexander', shows that he had further designs of conquest. He made Gulbarga his capital, and began adorning it with fine buildings. He organized the administration of the kingdom by dividing it into four provinces (*tarafs*) each under a governor; three were named after their chief cities—Gulbarga, Daulatabad, and Bidar—and the fourth was Berar.

Ala-ud-din was followed on the throne by his eldest son, Muhammad I (1358-77), a diligent and methodical administrator whose institutions long survived him and influenced the polity of later kingdoms. He established a council of eight ministers including the Peshwa, and greatly decentralized the provincial administration—a step that made for efficiency and sound government so long as the king was strong and undertook frequent tours of the realm, but led ultimately to its dismemberment. He reorganized the bodyguard into four reliefs (*naubats*), each doing duty by turns for four days at a time. He took strong measures for the suppression of highway robbery, and no fewer than 20,000 brigands lost their lives before the sultan was satisfied that the safety of the

roads had been secured. The great mosque of Gulbarga was completed in 1367. It is perhaps the only mosque in India which has no open courtyard and has been described as 'a noble building impressive in its massive solidity'. He secured recognition from the puppet caliph of Egypt as a result of his mother's journey to Mecca (1361).

Muhammad waged wars with Telengana and Vijayanagar and had to suppress a revolt in Daulatabad. The neighbouring Hindu rulers sent hostile messages to Muhammad—Kāpaya Nāyaka demanded the restoration of Kaulas, and Bukka the cession of the Raichur doab, both conquered from them by his predecessor, and threatened to join Delhi in taking measures against him. Muhammad merely detained their messengers for eighteen months, during which time he completed his preparations. He then sent back haughty answers calling upon his 'vassals' to explain their failure to make the customary offerings at his accession, and to make it good by sending him all their elephants laden with gold, jewels and other treasure. Kāpaya Nāyaka's reply was to send an army under his son Vināyak Deo (or Nāgdev according to some accounts) against Kaulas, aided by a body of 20,000 horse sent by Bukka. Vināyak Deo, however, was beaten back by Bahadur Khan who advanced to Wārangal and collected 100,000 gold *huns* and 26 elephants before he left Telengana. This resulted in permanent estrangement between the two kingdoms and continued hostilities. For example, in 1362 a caravan of horse-dealers reported that horses meant for Gulbarga had been forcibly purchased by Vināyak Deo, whereupon Muhammad captured and executed the Hindu prince and caused the devastation of much of the Telengana country, though not without serious losses to himself.

Nor was Muhammad without other troubles, for during his excursion into Telengana, his cousin Bahram Khan Mazandarani, governor of Daulatabad, revolted. He made common cause with Kāpaya Nāyaka and sent a futile message to Delhi seeking the aid of Firuz Tughlak. Muhammad sent an army against Daulatabad, while he himself took the field once more against Telengana. Wārangal and Golconda were besieged; Kāpaya Nāyaka had to flee to the jungles and was only able to purchase peace by the promise of fealty and the cession of the town of Golconda, much gold and many elephants. He also yielded a throne studded with turquoises meant originally for Muhammad bin Tughlak. On

21 March 1365, Muhammad sat on the throne at Gulbarga, and celebrated the occasion with great *éclat*. He ordered, according to Ferishta, that the singers and dancers who entertained him on this occasion should be paid by a draft on the treasury of Vijayanagar, and despite his ministers' remonstrances he insisted on the literal execution of this rash order. When his messenger took the draft to Vijayanagar, Bukka (Ferishta calls him Krishnarāya) had him paraded on an ass in his city, and then crossed the Tungabhadra and seized Mudgal. Muhammad was furious and incontinently marched against Bukka though only with a moderate force. Bukka withdrew with his cavalry to Adoni, leaving the infantry to face the enemy and defend the country. Muhammad plundered and killed the defenceless inhabitants in the villages before he retired into Mudgal for the rains. The rest of his army then joined him; he marched in the direction of Adoni and, early in 1367, a battle was fought at Kauthal, south of the Tungabhadra. The Muslims gained the victory, thanks to their guns and their cavalry, the Hindu artillery not coming into play till it was too late, and their commander Mallinātha being mortally wounded. Ferishta is very definite that guns were used by both sides on this occasion and that the gunners were generally Europeans and Ottoman Turks. After his defeat, Bukka eluded Muhammad's pursuit for three months, and finally shut himself up in his capital. Not having the strength to besiege the vast city, Muhammad feigned sickness and retreated. Bukka ventured to attack him, but he had to retire into the city again after losing many men and some treasure. Muhammad then took to the promiscuous slaughter of all the inhabitants of the country and proclaimed his intention of not stopping until his draft was honoured by the ruler of Vijayanagar; the war was then ended by Bukka consenting to this. Four hundred thousand Hindus, ten thousand Brahmin priests among them, lost their lives in the massacre. So shocked were both sides by the dimensions of the slaughter that an agreement was made to spare non-combatants in future wars. Though violated on occasions, this agreement did do something to mitigate the horrors of the perpetual contest between the two states.

Ferishta's account of Muhammad's wars with Vijayanagar cannot be accepted at face value. He retails as a cause of the first war an improbable story of a large issue of gold coins by Muhammad which were melted down by the Hindu bankers of his kingdom

at the instance of the Hindu rulers of neighbouring kingdoms. In his account of the second war he calls the Vijayanagar ruler Krishnarāya and mentions his general Bhojmal of whom history knows nothing. Again, according to Ferishta himself the Krishna river was recognized as the boundary between the two kingdoms by the terms of the treaty which ended the war: this virtually conceded the claim of Vijayanagar to the territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, which would not have been the case if Muhammad had been so uniformly successful in the war as Ferishta would have us believe.

After the end of the war with Vijayanagar, Muhammad easily suppressed the revolt in Daulatabad; Bahram Khan fled and was pursued to the frontiers of Gujarat.

Muhammad gets a good character from Ferishta to whom cruelty to infidels was, if anything, a commendation. The author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* says that he died as a result of an 'irreligious manner of living', meaning perhaps indulgence in drink. The internal affairs of the kingdom during the reign were managed by Saif-ud-din Ghori, who had served the first sultan well and continued in service till the accession of the sixth sultan when he died at an age of more than 100.

Muhammad was succeeded by his eldest son Mujahid, who provoked a quarrel with Vijayanagar by demanding territory and then invaded that kingdom. Bukka adopted the plan of wearing out his enemy by avoiding battle and finally retired into his capital. Although its outer defences were carried by the enemy, they soon afterwards sustained a decisive defeat. A futile siege of Adoni for nine months was followed by peace. Mujahid rebuked his uncle, Daud Khan, for the inefficiency of his operations against the city of Vijayanagar. Daud Khan retaliated by conspiring to procure Mujahid's murder on 15 April 1378 and made himself king. Within a month, however, Mujahid's sister contrived to have Daud murdered, and Muhammad II, son of the youngest son of Ala-ud-din I, was proclaimed king.

Muhammad II was a man of peace, devoted to religion and poetry. He sent large presents to Hafiz of Persia together with an invitation to visit him, but the poet was frightened by a storm in the Persian Gulf and would not continue his journey to India. A less amiable side of his character, however, is to be seen during the years of famine between 1387 and 1395, when the relief measures

he organized were confined to his Muslim subjects. Muhammad II died of a fever in April 1397 and was succeeded by his elder son—Ghiyas-ud-din, a strong-willed and indiscreet youth of seventeen. Within two months (June 1397) he was dethroned and blinded by an angry Turkish slave, Tughalchin, who raised to the throne Shams-ud-din Daud, Ghiyas-ud-din's younger half-brother, and made himself regent. Firuz and his brother Ahmad, sons-in-law of Muhammad II and grandsons of Ala-ud-din I, wanted to redeem the royal line from domination by a slave, and, after an initial failure, succeeded in overpowering Tughalchin and his master in the palace in November 1397. Firuz became king under the title Taj-ud-din Firuz Shah.

Firuz had a vigorous body and a keen mind. Ferishta considered him the greatest of the Bāhmani kings, and the author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* speaks of him as a 'good, just, and generous king who supported himself by copying the Quran, and the ladies of whose harem used to support themselves by embroidering garments and selling them'. But these are exaggerated estimates, and there is no doubt that Firuz drank hard and his character degenerated as his reign advanced; he ruined his vigorous body by excessive indulgence in the company of women. He built a new city Firuzabad on the Bhima where he set up a harem of 800 women of various nationalities; he was reputed to be a master of many languages and able to converse with each of his mistresses in her own tongue. Firuz made his brother Ahmad chief minister, and regulated the administration efficiently, not hesitating to employ Brahmins in important posts.

In 1398, Harihara II invaded the Raichur doab, and there was at the same time a rebellion of the Kolis on the north bank of the Krishna led by a Hindu chief. The Koli rebellion was crushed, but the armies of Berar and Daulatabad that came to aid Firuz against Harihara II had to go back to deal with the Gond rāja of Kherla who had invaded Berar. Firuz only had 12,000 horse with him as he advanced on the Krishna, while Harihara was encamped on the southern bank with a vast but ill-organized array. Firuz saw the difficulty of crossing the river for the attack in the face of the enemy, and Quazi Siraj-ud-din suggested a stratagem and offered to carry it out himself; he disguised himself and a number of his friends as a company of strolling performers and went into the enemy camp. In a few days they made a reputation

for themselves and gained permission to perform before the son of Harihara when in the course of a dance with naked swords they suddenly fell upon the prince and killed him on the spot. Such confusion arose in the Hindu camp that Firuz was able to cross the river unopposed and Harihara fled to Vijayanagar, carrying with him the corpse of his ill-fated son. Firuz pursued him and took large numbers of prisoners, including 10,000 Brahmins, but released the captives on payment of a big ransom, and the war came to an end. Firuz now separated the Raichur doab from the home province of Gulbarga, and appointed Fulad Khan as its first military governor.

Soon after, Firuz led a successful expedition against Narsinh of Kherla who had to surrender 40 elephants, much money and a daughter into the hands of Firuz as the price of peace. In 1401 Firuz sent a mission with presents to Timur, and Timur issued a decree bestowing the Deccan, Malwa and Gujarat on Firuz. The rulers of Malwa and Gujarat were alarmed and entered into negotiations with Harihara II who now began to withhold tribute and defy Firuz successfully; fearing an attack from the north, Firuz let Harihara alone. Harihara died in 1404, and two years later his son Devarāya I started a war, according to Ferishta, on account of a pretty girl, the daughter of a goldsmith of Mudgal, who had caught his fancy. Devarāya's attempt to seize her by force miscarried, and he laid waste some villages in the neighbourhood of Mudgal. This act of aggression provoked Firuz who invaded Vijayanagar and attacked the city; being wounded himself, he had to withdraw to a fortified camp some distance away, from where he sent his lieutenants to ravage and conquer the country to the south of the city up to Adoni. Devarāya had to make peace on the sultan's terms which included the gift of a daughter in marriage, the surrender of Bankapur as her dowry, besides pearls, 50 elephants, 2,000 boys and girls skilled in song and dance, and a large cash indemnity. The marriage was celebrated with due pomp, but as the king did not accompany Firuz far enough out of the city when he left it, they parted in anger. Firuz secured for his son Hasan Khan the girl whose charms had brought on the war. The story of the goldsmith's daughter is, however, unknown to other writers.

In 1412, the Gond governor of Mahur rebelled against Firuz who marched into Gondwana but had to return without suppressing

the revolt. About this time Firuz began to suspect his brother Ahmad of plotting against him, as the saint Jamal-ud-din Husaini prophesied his accession to the throne. Two slaves became the sultan's favourites and received the titles Ain-ul-Mulk and Nizam-ul-Mulk. In 1417, an expedition against Telengana was successful in killing Kāṭayavema Reddi of Rajahmundry in battle and enforcing subordination in that country. But in 1420 the attack on Pangal, which had been taken by Vijayanagar, ended in disaster; the siege of the fortress lasted for two years at the end of which disease began to decimate the ranks of the Bāhmani forces. The success of Vijayanagar was complete on this occasion, and Firuz had to retreat leaving the southern and eastern districts of his kingdom in the occupation of the enemy. Firuz was completely shaken by this defeat and was henceforth a broken man; he spent the rest of his life in works of piety, according to his light, and left the affairs of state more and more to the two favourite slaves.

Ahmad's position was endangered by their ascendancy, and he fled from the capital with some adherents, including a rich merchant from Basra by name Khalaf Hasan. On his advice, Ahmad assumed the royal title in his camp near Kalyāni, defeated troops sent against him, and pursued them to the capital. Firuz was too ill to do anything, and his army deserted him in favour of Ahmad, who accepted his brother's abdication and took charge of his two sons Hasan Khan and Mubarak Khan (September 1422). Firuz died within a few days, it was said, strangled or poisoned under Ahmad's orders.

Ahmad Shah (1422-35) richly endowed the saint who had prophesied his accession and had advised him on several occasions when he was in difficulty; he also rewarded his other friends, like the merchant of Basra, with offices and rank. He ordained that each provincial governor was to rank as a commander of 2,000; but this did not mean that the troops under him were restricted to this number.

Ahmad proceeded against Vijayarāya of Vijayanagar to avenge the disasters of the last reign; a battle on the banks of the Tunga-bhadra was followed by the most ruthless devastations of Vijayanagar country. Indiscriminate slaughter and enslavement of the civil population, destruction of temples and the slaughter of cows were the special features of this campaign.

In March 1423, while out hunting, Ahmad pursued an antelope until he was separated from his bodyguard. At this disadvantage, he was spotted by a body of Hindu cavalry, but was saved by the timely arrival of a detachment of his own troops under a faithful officer Abdul Qadir. The latter was rewarded with the title of Khan Jahan and the governorship of Berar, and his brother, Abdul Latif, became Khan A'zam and governor of Bidar. Foreign mounted archers played a great part in the rescue and were henceforth a strong corps in the Bāhmanī army. The war against Vijayanagar was only concluded when Vijayarāya agreed to pay the 'arrears of tribute', a vast amount; his son Devarāya accompanied the sultan on his way back as far as the Krishna. The sultan carried away many prisoners with him, among them two able Brahmin youths who became Muslims, one of them later becoming the first independent sultan of Berar, and the other the father of that Ahmad who founded the Nizam Shahi line of Ahmadnagar.

In both 1423 and 1424 the rains failed and there was famine. Ahmad prayed for rain publicly on the top of a hill outside the capital and when his prayer was apparently answered, he was hailed a saint (*wali*). This, however, did not prevent him, at the end of 1424, from invading Telengana, where he captured Wārangal, and slew its king. The governor of Bidar was left to reduce the rest of the country and extend the kingdom to the sea. This was the end of that Hindu kingdom.

In 1425 Ahmad proceeded against Mahur, whose rebellious rāja was enticed by a promise of pardon and then slain along with 6,000 of his followers. Ahmad next led a raid into Gondwana and spent a year in Ellichpur, rebuilding the forts of Gawilgarh and Narnala on his northern frontier, as a preparation for the conquest of Gujarat and Malwa which had been granted by Timur to his brother. To the same end, he entered into a close alliance with Khandesh, a small state over which both Gujarat and Malwa had claims of suzerainty. In his turn, Hushang Shah of Malwa had, by 1422, compelled Narsingh of Kherla, a vassal of the Bāhmanī sultan, to swear fealty to Malwa. In 1428 he invaded Kherla to collect tribute, and on Narsingh's appeal for aid, Ahmad marched to Ellichpur. Hushang pressed on with the siege of Kherla, but Ahmad was assailed by doubts about the morality of attacking a brother Muslim in defence of an infidel, and gave up the cause of

Narsingh and retired to his own country. Hushang attributed Ahmad's retreat to cowardice, and pursued him with a considerable force, whereupon Ahmad defeated him decisively on the banks of the Tapti; 200 elephants and all the baggage in Hushang's camp along with the ladies of his harem fell into the hands of the victor. Narsingh issued from Kherla and pursued Hushang's beaten troops into Malwa, while Ahmad advanced to Kherla. There he was well entertained by Narsingh. He sent the women back to Hushang under a strong escort.

On his return from this campaign, Ahmad stayed in Bidar for some time, where he was so struck by its situation and climate that he decided to build a new city near its ancient fortress and called it Ahmadabad-Bidar. This became the new capital where he settled in 1429. About the same time his eldest son, Ala-ud-din Ahmad, married the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. In 1430, Ahmad ordered a wanton attack on Gujarat, then under Ahmad I; the Deccan army was twice defeated, and an attempt on Mahim on the island of Bombay also resulted in great losses. But Ahmad Bāhmani obstinately persisted in his effort so that there was much fighting in 1431 on the southern frontier of Gujarat, although the Deccan troops gained no advantage. In 1432, Ahmad put his sister's son Sher Khan to death, suspecting him of designs upon the throne. Sher Khan had been among those who had advised Ahmad earlier in his life to end his brother's feeble rule and make himself king.

The Gujarat war exhausted Ahmad, and Hushang of Malwa, who knew this, captured Kherla and killed Narsingh. Ahmad marched north to avenge this insult, but Nasir Khan intervened and made peace between them on terms by no means favourable to Ahmad. Kherla was acknowledged to be a fief of Malwa, while the rest of Berar remained a province of the Deccan. Ahmad then punished some of the petty chieftains of Telengana and restored order (1424-5) in the province ruled by one of his sons. He died in 1435 aged about sixty-four. Unlike his brother Firuz, whose learning had imparted a touch of scepticism to his outlook on life, Ahmad was a superstitious Muslim, with a tinge of fanaticism, apt to show too much reverence to any long-haired 'saint'. But he was not altogether incapable of enjoying wit and learning, and at his instance the poet Āzārī of Isfarāyīn in Khurasan composed the *Bāhman-nāmā*, a versified history of the dynasty, now lost. From

such quotations as have survived, we know it to have been a rather poor imitation of the *Shāh-nāmā*. Āzārī retired to his native place before Ahmad's death, but continued writing his history up to his death in 1462; it was added to regularly by other hands till the end of the dynasty.

The regular employment of foreigners—Turks, Arabs, Moguls and Persians—in the civil and military offices of the state gave rise to rivalry between them and the local Muslims, the Deccanis, who were backed by African negroes as well as by the offspring of African fathers and Indian mothers. The 'foreigners' alleged that the disasters of the Gujarat war were due to the cowardice of the Deccanis, and the quarrels between the rival factions often led to pitched battles and bloody massacres. The 'foreigners' were generally Shiahhs while the Deccanis were Sunnis, and this added acerbity to their disputes which had no small share in weakening the Bāhmanī sultanate and its succession states.

Ahmad the Saint was succeeded by his eldest son Ala-ud-din II (1436-58). He surrounded himself with foreigners and the jealousy and intrigues of the Deccanis were the source of much trouble during his reign. He sent his brother Muhammad to recover 'arrears of tribute' from Devarāya II of Vijayanagar, which he did. This success turned Muhammad's head, and he demanded equal power with the sultan or one half of the kingdom for himself. The result was a war in which he was beaten, but he was pardoned and made governor of the Raichur doab and remained loyal to his brother ever after.

Parts of Konkan were conquered in 1437, and the rāja of Sangameśvar gave his daughter in marriage to the sultan, who preferred her to his first wife, the daughter of Nasir Khan of Khandesh. To avenge this slight, Nasir Khan invaded Berar, induced many officials of the province to take his side, and confined its governor, Khan Jahan, to the fortress of Narnala. At this juncture, the Deccani party recommended caution to the sultan, while the Malik-ut-Tujjar Khalaf Hasan Basri, the governor of Daulatabad and leader of the foreigners, declared his readiness to take the field if he was given foreign troops and no Deccanis. He had his way and won a splendid success as a result of which the supremacy of the foreign party seemed assured; they took the place of honour on the right side of the throne, while the Deccanis were relegated to the left.

Meanwhile Devarāya II had reorganized his army and made it an efficient striking force of all arms. In 1443, he invaded the Raichur doab, captured Mudgal, besieged Raichur and Bankapur, and laid waste the country up to Bijapur and Sagar. On the approach of Ala-ud-din, he withdrew to Mudgal, and Malik-ut-Tujjar was able to raise the sieges of Raichur and Bankapur. Three battles between the two armies followed in as many months. In the first, the Hindus won the day, while the Muslims won the second; in the third, Devarāya's elder son was killed and his troops driven headlong back to Mudgal. Two important Muslim officers of the Bāhmani army were captured and imprisoned; but when the sultan sent word that the lives of 200,000 Hindus would be the price of these officers, Devarāya agreed to make peace and to pay 'tribute' regularly in future.

Ala-ud-din's character degenerated with age and he began to indulge in gross sensual pleasures to the neglect of public business. The Deccanis took advantage of this to compass the destruction of the foreigners' party. In 1446-7, an expedition against the Konkan was organized, with Malik-ut-Tujjar Khalaf Hasan appointed to the command. The intrigues of the Deccanis with two Hindu princes, one of them the rāja of Sangameśvar, brought about the defeat of the army and the slaughter of large numbers of the foreigners including Malik-ut-Tujjar himself. The survivors gathered in the fort of Chākan to the north of Poona, but the Deccanis followed up their game by bringing false accusations of treason against them and persuading the sultan to agree to their assassination. They then contrived to murder all the officers at a banquet, and to slaughter 1,200 Sayyids and 1,000 other foreigners besides numerous children, appropriating to themselves the wives, daughters and goods of their victims. The few who escaped, Quasim Beg and two other officers among them, managed, to convey to the sultan a true account of what had happened. Ala-ud-din was overcome by remorse, executed the leaders of the Deccani party, and reduced their families to penury. Quasim Beg became governor of Daulatabad, and his two companions were promoted to high rank. The foreign party regained its ascendancy, and in 1451 the king got a letter from the poet Āzārī of Isfarāyīn urging him to abandon the use of wine and dismiss all Deccani officials. He did both and began to take more interest in state affairs.

During 1453 the sultan was confined to his palace for a time by an injury to his leg, and rumours of his death began to spread. Sikandar, governor of Telengana, rebelled and invited Mahmud I of Malwa to invade Berar and joined him there in 1456. When Ala-ud-din took the field in person, Mahmud, who had been led to believe that he was dead, retired to Malwa. Sikandar and his father were defeated and captured after a siege by Mahmud Gawan, a foreigner who was just rising to power, but the sultan pardoned them.

Ala-ud-din died in 1458. While he drank wine himself, he sternly discouraged its use among his subjects. He built a free hospital at Bidar and displayed his piety by sitting through long sermons, and by building mosques with the material acquired from the Hindu temples he destroyed. Before he died he designated his eldest son Humayun as his successor.

Humayun (1458-61) had an evil reputation for cruelty and the savage deeds that marked his reign earned for him the title of *zalim* or 'tyrant'. At the start of his reign, some officers made attempts to enthrone Humayun's brother, Hasan Khan, and paid for it by death, imprisonment or flight; Hasan Khan himself was both blinded and imprisoned. Humayun favoured the foreigners and made Mahmud Gawan lieutenant of the kingdom (*malik naib*) and governor of Bijapur. The Deccanis, however, were not altogether excluded from office. There were two rebellions: one in Telengana led by Sikandar Khan and his father Jalal Khan, and another in the capital when the king and his minister were absent in Telengana. Both were suppressed with a maniacal ferocity unexampled even in the bloodstained annals of Bāhmani rule. Neither the able minister Mahmud Gawan nor the talented queen Makhdumah Jahan (who distinguished herself greatly during the minority of her sons after her husband's death) seems to have been able to restrain the excesses of the sultan. His subjects heaved a sigh of relief when Humayun died in September 1461, 'assassinated during a fit of intoxication by his own servants, who were tired out by his inhuman cruelties'.

Humayun's son, Nizam Shah, was only a lad of eight at his accession, so his mother managed the affairs of state with the help of Malik Shah Turk, surnamed Khvaja Jahan, and Mahmud Gawan. Underrating the efficiency of the new regime, the Hindu ruler of Telengana and Orissa invaded the kingdom as did Mahmud I

of Malwa also. The former was met and turned back twenty miles from the capital, Bidar; but the invasion of Mahmud I was a more serious danger. The Bāhmanī forces sustained a defeat near Kandhar, the capital had to stand a siege, and the queen-mother retired to Firuzabad with her young son. Relief came when Mahmud Begarha, the ruler of Gujarat, responded to Mahmud Gawan's appeal for help. The Gujarat and Bāhmanī forces joined and together threatened the rear of the Malwa army which was thus compelled to retreat. Another raid from Malwa in the following year did not advance beyond Daulatabad thanks once again to the timely intervention of the ruler of Gujarat.

The young sultan died suddenly on 30 July 1463, and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad III, then only nine years of age. The regency council carried on the government during the king's minority, as in the previous reign, but Khvaja Jahan's ambition disturbed the harmony. The queen-mother suspected his designs when she found that Mahmud Gawan was, in effect, banished from the capital and kept constantly employed on the frontier. She arranged for her son to order the execution of Khvaja Jahan as a traitor. She then recalled Mahmud Gawan, who had bestowed great care on the education of the king, to the capital where he became chief officer with the title Amir-ul-Umara. The queen-mother retired when her son was fifteen, and retained his affection and respect throughout her life.

A campaign against Kherla, then in the possession of Mahmud I of Malwa, was undertaken in 1467; but nothing was gained by this, peace was made, and Kherla continued to be a fief of Malwa as in the reign of Ahmad the Saint. Mahmud Gawan, who still retained the government of Bijapur, undertook an expedition against the Hindu rājas of the Konkan, a country that was never completely subjugated by the Bāhmanī sultans. In particular, Mahmud Gawan wanted to prevent the rājas of Khelna (Viśālgarh) and Sangameśvar from using their fleets off the west coast to harass Muslim merchants and pilgrims. By patience and the calculated employment of force and corruption he gained several successes, and finally captured Goa, then the best port of the Vijayanagar empire. This last victory was important not only as an achievement against the permanent enemy of the Bāhmanī kingdom, but as giving to that kingdom a virtual command over the west coast trade, besides guaranteeing the safety of Muslim pilgrims to Mecca.

Mahmud Gawan returned to the capital in 1472 after an absence of over three years and was received with high honours.

Before Mahmud Gawan's return, news of a war of succession in Orissa, following the death of Kapileśvara Gajapati, reached Muhammad III in the form of an appeal for aid from Kapileśvara's son Hambar (Hamvīra) against an usurper named Mangal, by whom Purushottama Gajapati, another of Kapileśvara's sons, seems to be meant. Malik Hasan, one of the two Brahmin youths brought from Vijayanagar by Ahmad the Saint, was sent against the usurper whom he was successful in defeating and thus secured the throne for Hambar. Hambar was to repay Malik Hasan later on when he helped him to reduce the Reddis of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu. Malik Hasan's achievements received due recognition when he returned to the capital, but Purushottama soon displaced Hambar and won the throne of Orissa for himself, Hambar consenting to rule in Kimedi as a subordinate vassal.

The Bāhmani kingdom now for the first time extended from sea to sea, and honours were fairly divided between the foreigners and Deccanis. Of the four provinces, two—Gulbarga with Bijapur, and Daulatabad—were held by Mahmud Gawan and Yusuf Adil Khan, both foreigners, and two others—Telengana and Berar—by Malik Hasan and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk, the other Brahmin youth from Vijayanagar. Fathullah was friendly with the foreigners, but not so Malik Hasan; Mahmud Gawan was relatively free from party spirit. The leader of the foreigners was Yusuf, and round him gathered many foreigners who enabled him to complete the conquest of northern Konkan. This earned for him higher honours than Hasan's who thus became more hostile than ever to the foreigners.

At the end of 1472 the rājas of Belgaum and Bankapur were urged by Virūpāksha of Vijayanagar to recover Goa for the Hindu empire. Muhammad III and Mahmud Gawan marched against Bankapur, whose ruler Birkana withstood a siege for some time and then surrendered; his territory was annexed and added to the charge of Mahmud Gawan. Soon after, the queen-mother, whose advice had been sought almost every day by her son even after her retirement, died in camp, and her body was sent to Bidar for burial, while Muhammad III halted at Bijapur as the guest of Gawan. She had been a steady supporter of Mahmud Gawan who felt her loss even more keenly than her son did.

About 1476 the people of Kondavīdu rose against their oppressive Muslim governor, put him to death and delivered the town to Hamir, an Oriya nobleman. The person so described by the Muslim historians was doubtless Dakshina Kapileśvara Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra, a son of Hambar (Hamvīra) who had contested the throne of Orissa with Purushottama. Hamir sent word that the time had come for Purushottama to recover his lost territory, so he invaded Telengana and besieged Malik Hasan in Rajahmundry. Muhammad, however, marched across the country and relieved him, the Orissan king retired to his country whither Muhammad followed him in 1478, when he had to make peace at the cost of many elephants and other rich presents to the sultan. Hamir, who had shut himself up in Kondavīdu, eventually surrendered and was spared his life. Muhammad destroyed the great temple at Kondavīdu, built a mosque on its site, and earned for himself the title of *ghazī* by killing with his own hand the Brahmin priests of the temple.

Muhammad now spent over three years in Telengana, completing its subjugation. The province, which had grown administratively unwieldy because of the addition of so much newly-conquered territory, was divided into two, east and west, with capitals at Rajahmundry and Wārangal. This was part of a general scheme of administrative reform planned by Mahmud Gawan; but Malik Hasan, who had hoped to become governor of undivided Telen-gana, resented the new scheme and resolved on the destruction of its author.

Muhammad also planned an expedition against the eastern Carnatic ruled over by Sāluva Narasimha, viceroy of Vijayanagar, who had helped Purushottama in the recent war. Malik Hasan offered to go with him, leaving his son Ahmad as his deputy in Rajahmundry. Ahmad, the better soldier, was then holding a fief in the Mahur district in Berar, evidently because it was felt necessary to keep father and son separated. He was now summoned from Mahur and installed in Rajahmundry. The invasion began, and Kondapalli became the headquarters of the Bāhmani army. Here Muhammad left his son Mahmud with Mahmud Gawan, while he personally led a daring raid against Kānchipuram, plundered its rich temples, and slew a number of priests. The Muslim chronicler of this episode wildly exaggerates its results and writes that the Bāhmani troops 'levelled the city and its

temples to the ground and overthrew all the symbols of infidelity'. On his way back to Kondapalli, Muhammad lost much of his booty to Narasimha's troops, but succeeded in capturing Masulipatam.

At Kondapalli, Mahmud Gawan completed his scheme of administrative reform. Each of the four overgrown *tarafs* was divided into two under separate governors. At the same time, the power of the *tarafdar*s (governors) was much curtailed, because 'several places in each of the eight divisions were reserved especially to meet the king's private expenses, and district collectors were appointed from the court to manage them'. Again, the new order was that only one fort in each province was left in the governor's hands, 'the remainder being entrusted to officers and troops distinctly appointed by the king and paid from headquarters'. This was calculated to make rebellion difficult if not impossible. Thirdly, the allowances for the maintenance of troops were increased, but stricter supervision and control was introduced and *pro rata* reductions made for missing numbers. Mahmud Gawan also improved the administration of land revenue by organizing a proper survey and proper assessment. These reforms made him very unpopular with the Deccanis who held five out of the eight governorships.

The hostile party carried to the sultan many tales against Mahmud Gawan, and as proof of their allegations, they contrived to get his seal affixed to a blank sheet of paper on which they wrote a letter purporting to be from Mahmud Gawan to the king of Orissa telling him that the people of the Deccan were weary of Muhammad's tyranny and perpetual drunkenness and urging him to invade the country. They placed the letter in the sultan's hands pretending that they had intercepted the messenger who was carrying it. Mahmud Gawan was sent for at once; disregarding the remonstrances of friends who sought to dissuade him from obeying this unusual call and advised him to flee to Gujarat, the minister presented himself before the king. Muhammad Shah sternly asked him what punishment was proper for one whose treason against his sovereign was proved. 'Death' was the unhesitating answer. The sultan showed him the forged letter; the minister admitted that the seal was indeed his, but protested that he had not written the letter. The sultan paid no attention but 'ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot', and so it was done (5 April 1481). Thus died

the only counsellor of the Bāhmanis who combined loyalty with an ability which entitled him to the rank of a statesman, and who served his masters with unswerving devotion for thirty-five years. In private life, Mahmud Gawan was simple, generous, charitable, learned and blameless, and he might have healed the feud between the 'foreigners' and 'Deccanis' but for the implacable rancour of Malik Hasan.

Mahmud Gawan's camp was plundered by the troops and the mob, and his followers fled, together with the other 'foreigners', to Yusuf Adil Khan who was in the field. When questioned, Gawan's treasurer told the king that his master had distributed all his earnings in charity and had left no hoard; he further accused the sultan of having shed innocent blood and challenged him to prove the guilt of Mahmud Gawan or at least get at the messenger who was supposed to have carried the letter to the king of Orissa. Too late the sultan discovered the truth and sent the body of Gawan for burial with honour at Bidar. But the king was now feared and distrusted by all the foreigners and the respectable section of the Deccanis, who declined to have anything more to do with him, refused to attend court or camp and saluted him from a distance when they did so at all.

The king was thus thrown into the hands of the betrayers of his late minister and had to make it up with them, instead of punishing them as he had intended. Malik Hasan became lieutenant of the kingdom and his son Ahmad governor of Daulatabad in the place of Yusuf, who took the fiefs formerly held by Mahmud Gawan—Belgaum and Bijapur. Muhammad went to Belgaum hoping to conciliate Yusuf Adil Khan. When he heard that Narasimha of Vijayanagar was preparing to attack Goa, he wanted to go there, but his nobles would not accompany him. He therefore sent Yusuf Adil Khan to its relief, and himself returned to Firuzabad where he drowned his humiliation in drink. He formally nominated his young son Mahmud as his successor and died at Bidar on 22 March 1482, crying out that Mahmud Gawan was slaying him. He was only twenty-nine at the time.

Ferishta says that, next to Firuz Shah, he was the most learned prince that ever filled the Bāhmani throne. He was a high-spirited, energetic monarch and a good soldier; and he had a number of competent ministers, Mahmud Gawan being the best among them. But drink was his arch-enemy which ruined his reputation by betraying him into rash acts and brought him to a premature end.

He was in fact the last king of the line worth the name; five more followed him on the throne, but they were little more than puppets in the hands of unscrupulous ministers.

Muhammad III's son Mahmud was enthroned, at the age of twelve, by Malik Hasan, at a mean ceremony from which the nobility deliberately stayed away. Yusuf Adil Khan came back from Goa to Bidar to pay his respects to the new monarch, but suspicion and intrigue and the open fights between the Deccanis and his followers induced him to retire to Bijapur, leaving Malik Hasan supreme in the capital. An attempt by the boy-sultan to gain his freedom by having Malik Hasan assassinated failed, and he was more closely guarded ever after. It became well known that the king was a helpless prisoner, and the governors of provinces began to defy the orders of Malik Hasan, the *malik naib*. In 1486, for instance, the governor of Telengana rebelled, and there were also revolts in Goa and Chākan supported by Yusuf Adil Shah. It was not long before the king openly expressed his disgust with Malik Hasan who thereupon left for Bidar with the intention of capturing the treasury and winning the army over to his side. He was caught, however, and, under the king's orders, strangled by Dilpasand Khan, the governor of the city. But his removal came too late; the king returned to Bidar and plunged into idleness and debauchery, neglecting public affairs. A conspiracy of the Deccanis to dethrone him in November 1487 was foiled by the intercession of the foreign troops, and the Deccanis and Africans suffered a terrible reprisal in the form of a general massacre which lasted three days.

In 1490, at the suggestion of Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the late Malik Hasan's son, Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar joined him in assuming the royal title and announced themselves free from the suzerainty of Bidar. Their example was followed later by Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda (1512) and Barid-ul-Mulk of Bidar itself. Such was the origin of the five kingdoms of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, Adil Shahis of Bijapur, Imad Shahis of Berar, Qutb Shahis of Golconda, and Barid Shahis of Bidar. Ahmad's motive was almost certainly disloyalty to the sultan who had ordered the murder of his father; but the others set up their independence because they could no longer tolerate a king who allowed himself to be swayed by whichever ambitious minister held his favour at the moment. That post was then held by Quasim Barid who soon reduced Sultan

Mahmud to greater impotence than ever, and some are inclined to date the rise of the Barid Shahis from 1490.

Quasim Barid sought to bring the provincial governors under control, and proceeded against Bijapur after inciting Narasa Nayaka, the regent of Vijayanagar, to attack it by invading the Raichur doab. He also expected Ahmad Shah to aid him, but was disappointed, and Yusuf gained a success against him. In 1493, Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat complained to the king of the Deccan against the piratical acts of his vassal Bahadur Gilani of Goa. In his attempts to reduce him, Quasim had the help of Yusuf, Ahmad and Fathullah, all of whom were interested in saving the Deccan from a Gujarati invasion. Bahadur was killed and his lands were bestowed on Ain-ul-Mulk Kanani, specially chosen by Quasim as likely to hold his own against Yusuf Adil.

There is no need to pursue in detail the intrigues, rebellions and faction fights that marked the remaining years of Mahmud's nominal rule. In 1504, Quasim Barid died and his place was taken by Amir Ali Barid who, in the midst of many vicissitudes, managed to retain control of the king and foil his efforts to secure his freedom. Mahmud died in December 1518, and was followed on the throne by his four sons: Ahmad (1518-21); Ala-ud-din (1521) who was deposed, imprisoned, and put to death for his attempt to get free of the control of Ali Barid; Wali Ullah (1521-4) who met the same fate after a nominal rule of three years; and Kalimullah. The last ruler sent a messenger to Babur promising to surrender the provinces of Daulatabad and Berar to him if he would rid the king of the Deccan of his jailor and restore to him the rest of his kingdom. No answer came; but Amir Ali Barid got scent of the mission, and Kalimullah fled to Bijapur in 1527. He was received coldly there, and so went to Ahmadnagar where he died soon afterwards. His body was sent to Bidar for burial.

Such was the end of Bāhmani rule, by no means an attractive chapter in the history of the country. Among the eighteen sultans of the line, there were few who were not drunkards and debauchees surrounded by informers and self-seekers. Faction and party strife dominated court-life and sometimes led to terrible blunders like the murder of Mahmud Gawan. Some of the kings were bigots, and none of them had any genuine sympathy for their subjects who were Hindus. Something was done to promote irrigation and agriculture, and though this was largely to increase the

revenue to the crown, still it did good to the people as well. The Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin who lived in Bidar for some time (1470-4) records: 'The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback, and by 500 on foot, and by horn men, ten torchbearers and ten musicians.' The army and its leaders often sucked the country dry, and the people were helpless against them. The wars with the neighbouring Hindu states, particularly Vijayanagar, were marked by sickening horrors, and there were occasions when several hundreds were made 'converts'. Numbers of foreigners—Persians, Turks, Arabs and Moguls—came in search of trade or office, settled in the country and formed unions with the women of the land. All the same, the bulk of the population continued Hindu, and the number of Muslims in the former 'Hyderabad state' never exceeded fifteen per cent.

The Bāhmanī sultans erected a number of well-designed fortresses, and the cities of Gulbarga and Bidar owe their chief monuments to them and their ministers. The architecture of these buildings will be discussed in chapter XVI on 'Art'.

The history of the five separate kingdoms that arose out of the Bāhmanī kingdom need not be pursued in detail, and will only be touched on in the next chapter in so far as it concerns their relations with Vijayanagar. Golconda and Bijapur were the most important among them, and had a longer history than the rest. Muhammad Kasim, better known by his surname Ferishta, wrote his celebrated history to the command of Ibrahim II of Bijapur (1580-1626).

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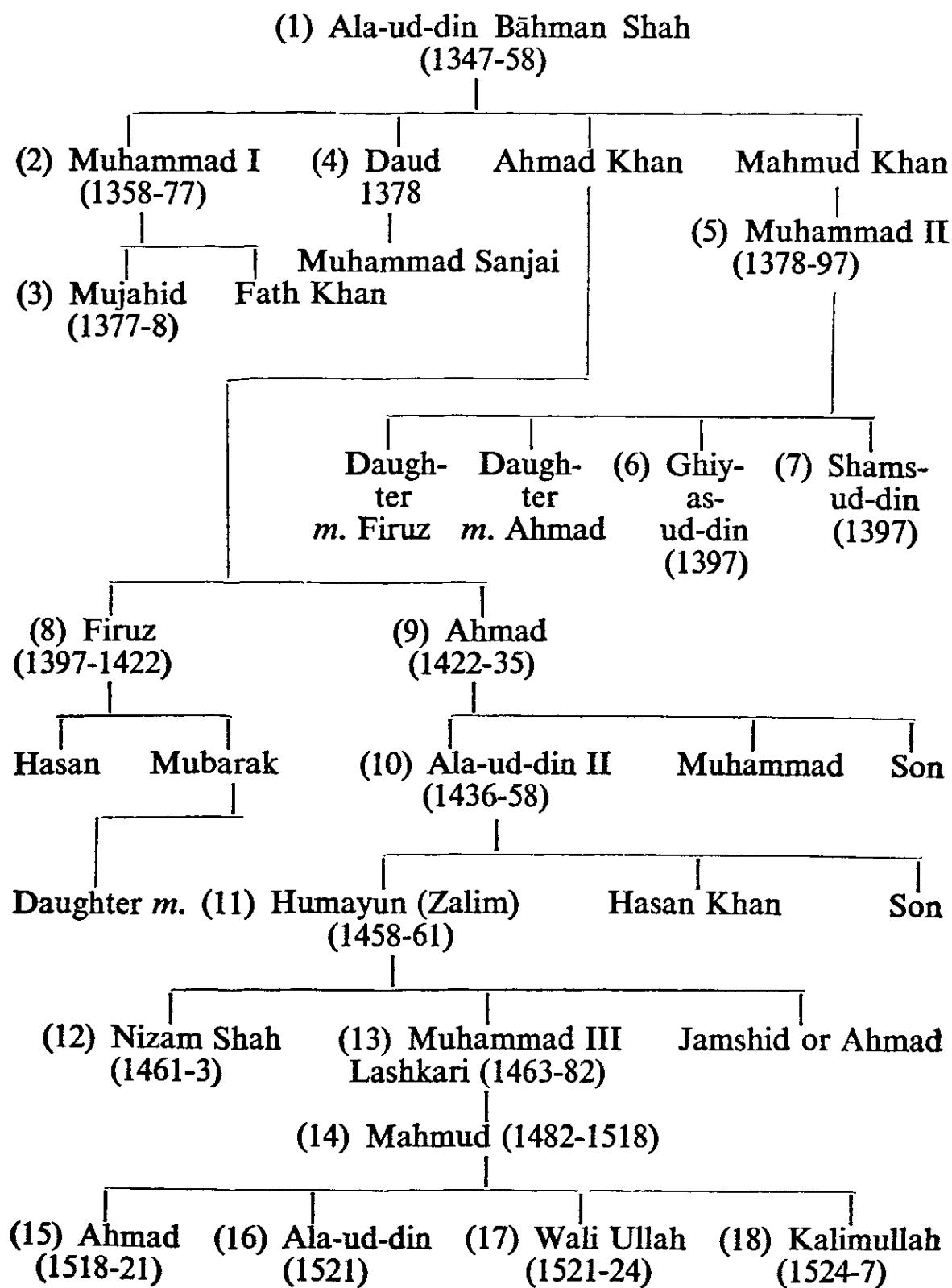
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## BĀHMANĪ KINGS OF THE DECCAN



## CHAPTER XII

### THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR

Harihara I—Bukka I—end of the Sultanate of Madura—Harihara II—expansion—relations with Bāhmanī kingdom—Virūpāksha—Bukka II—Devarāya I—Rāmachandra—Vijayarāya—Devarāya II—relations with the Reddis and the Gajapatis—Abdur Razzak—Bāhmanī wars—Vijayarāya II—Mallikārjuna—weakness of the empire—Odra expansion—loyal feudatories—Virūpāksha II—Sāluva Narasimha.

Wars of Sāluva Narasimha—Immaḍi Narasimha and Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka—Vīra Narasimha.

Revols and wars under Vīra Narasimha—Krishnadeva Rāya—his greatness and achievements—Achyuta Rāya—the coming of the Portuguese—the rise of the Nāyaks of Madura—Venkata I—Sadāśiva—Rāmarāja and his relations with the southern powers, the Portuguese and the Muslim states—Rakshasi-Tangadi—destruction of Vijayanagar.

Tirumala—Śrīranga I—Venkata II—Revival—arrival of the Dutch and the English—civil war and confusion after death of Venkata II—Śrīranga II—Rāmadeva—Venkata III and Śrīranga III—end of the Karnataka empire.

Political, administrative and military system of the empire.

THE last chapter traced the rise of Vijayanagar prior to 1346 and gave some account of the joint activities of the five sons of Sangama—Harihara, Bukka and their brothers. Mention was also made of the earliest conflicts between the Bāhmanī and Vijayanagar kingdoms which started from the time of the very founders of those two states. Now, in this chapter, we shall trace the subsequent history of that great empire which, by resisting the onslaughts of Islam, championed the cause of Hindu civilization and culture in the South for close upon three centuries and thus preserved the ancient tradition of the country in its polity, its learning and its arts. The history of Vijayanagar is the last glorious chapter in the history of independent Hindu South India.

Harihara I who founded the empire also did much to shape its administrative system. Following the Kākatiya model, he organized the country into *sthālas* and *nāḍus*, and began to employ numbers of Brahmins as *kārṇams* (in preference to goldsmiths and *velamas* who had held the positions before). He also reclaimed to the plough large areas of land in the Ceded Districts. His reign must have come to an end shortly after 1357 as that is the last date occurring in the known inscriptions of his reign. Before he died he had already nominated Bukka, the ablest of his brothers,

to succeed him; indeed this 'prop of the throne' became joint ruler as early as 1346, with Gutti as his capital.

Bukka I's reign as sole sovereign lasted for exactly twenty years to 1377. In the field of foreign affairs his most notable act was to send an embassy to China, as is recorded under the year 1374



## SOUTH INDIA IN VIJAYANAGAR TIMES

in the annals of the Ming dynasty. At home, there were frequent, and mainly disastrous, wars against the Bāhmanī sultans, Muhammad I and Mujahid, as recorded in the last chapter. The accession of Muhammad II to the throne of Gulbarga in 1378 brought a welcome lull in the perpetual hostilities, for the new sultan was essentially a man of peace.

In importance, however, the most notable event of Bukka's reign was the overthrow of the Madura sultanate by his son, Kumāra Kampana. Kampana had ruled the southern part of the empire as viceroy from the beginning of his father's reign, and was ably assisted in this work by such famous generals as Gopana and Sāluva Mangu. Kampana first made his power felt by the Śāmbuvarāyas of North and South Arcot, and when he had reduced them to subjection he succeeded in enlisting their co-operation in his enterprise against the Muslims of Madura. The details of this campaign are not forthcoming, but an epic version of it is to be found in the exquisite Sanskrit poem *Madhurā Vijayam* ('The Conquest of Madura') by Kampana's wife Gangā Devī. This tells us that while sojourning at Kānchipuram after his conquest of the Śāmbuvarāya, Kampana dreamt that the goddess of the Pāndya country described the pitiful state of that land under the Muslims and gave him a sword dispatched by Agastya—the sword of Pāndyan sovereignty which the Pāndyan kings were no longer capable of wielding. The Pāndya's failure to recover Madura is the historic justification for Kampana's campaign against the Madura sultan which history places in the years from 1365 to 1370. The image of Ranganātha, which had been carried away from Śrīrangam for safety during the time of the Muslim inroads, was restored to its original place in 1371. Kampana died in 1374.

The work begun by Harihara I was thus continued under Bukka I, and his sovereignty came to be recognized over large regions. The empire was divided into several *rājyas* ruled over by princes of the royal family or by highly favoured generals. Such were the Udayagiri *rājya* (Nellore and Cuddapah), Pungonda *rājya* (Bellary, Anantapur and parts of Northern Mysore), Mulvāyi *rājya* (parts of Mysore, Salem and South Arcot districts), Araga or Maleha *rājya* (Banavāsi, Chandragutti and Goa) and the Tulu *rājya* also called Barakūr-Mangalūru *rājya*, besides the Rājagambhīra *rājya* and others in the south.

Bukka I was followed on the throne by his son Harihara II who ruled for twenty-seven years (1377-1404) and consolidated the supremacy of Vijayanagar all over Southern India. The celebrated Sāyaṇā-ācārya, the brother of Mādhava, was his chief minister. Harihara replaced his cousins by his own sons as governors of provinces and sought thus to forestall the tendencies to disruption

due to the ambitions of his more distant relatives. Thus Devarāya was made the governor of Udayagiri.

In Telengana an important change had followed the invasion of Anapota, the Velama chieftain of Rājakonda, which had resulted in the defeat and death of Kāpaya Nāyaka sometime about 1369. Anapota was friendly to the Bāhmanis, and this alliance spelt danger to Kondavidu and Vijayanagar. Prince Bukka II, son of Harihara II, led two expeditions into Wārangal territory before the end of 1390, but failed to achieve any decisive results. Seven years later, Pangal was taken. This should have been an important gain, since it gave Bukka a forward base for future operations in Telengana; but it seems to have been lost soon after.

Extensions of territory were achieved in other directions as well. In the north-west, the ports of Goa, Chaul and Dabhol were taken from the Muslims, as also Kharepatan; and the Krishna became the northern frontier of Vijayanagar for a time. The Reddis of Kondavidu were deprived of their possessions in Kurnool, Nellore and even parts of Guntur (1382-5); and the power of the empire in the southern country was strengthened by an expedition led by prince Virūpāksha which even reached Ceylon and laid it under tribute. These successes, particularly those in the north, were doubtless due, at least in part, to the peaceful character of Muhammad II Bāhmanī and the confusion caused after his death by the mischievous activity of the ambitious Turkish slave Tughalchin.

In 1398-9 another fierce war raged between the Vijayanagar and Bāhmanī kingdoms in which Firuz pursued the army of Harihara II from the banks of the Krishna to the capital. He inflicted great slaughter on the Hindu population, and only agreed to an armistice after collecting a heavy ransom for the numerous prisoners he had taken. The treaty which both sides then signed contained such vague declarations as that the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to be the same as before the war, and that each party was to refrain from molesting the subjects of the other. Widespread famine over a great part of the Deccan added to the sufferings of the people during this period. The tribute which Harihara promised to pay annually was withheld two years later when the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat became his allies.

When Harihara II died in August 1404 the succession was violently disputed between his surviving sons. At first Virūpāksha

succeeded in securing the throne, but was soon ousted by Bukka II who ruled for two years (1405-6). Finally, Devarāya I became king and celebrated his coronation on 5 November 1406.

According to the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, Bukka II and Devarāya greatly extended the city of Vijayanagar, raising fresh walls and towers, and building further lines of fortification. But, says Sewell, their 'great work was the construction of a huge dam in the Tungabhadra river, and the formation of an aqueduct fifteen miles long from the river into the city. If this be the same channel that to the present day supplies the fields which occupy so much of the site of the old city, it is a most extraordinary work. For several miles this channel is cut out of the solid rock at the base of the hills, and is one of the most remarkable irrigation works to be seen in India.'

Early in his reign Devarāya was at war with Firuz Shah Bāhmanī—as a result, according to Ferishta, of the Hindu monarch's infatuation for a beautiful girl who lived in Mudgal; but another account attributes it to Firuz's determination to wage a *jihad* (holy war) against the Hindu monarch. The war went badly for Firuz at first but ended in a peace humiliating to the Hindu monarch who had to surrender the strategic fort of Bankapur, which commanded an important route from Vijayanagar to the Arabian Sea, and to give one of his daughters in marriage to the sultan.

The Reddis of Kondavidu, who were possibly in league with Firuz, took their chance to attack Udayagiri and captured territory belonging to that province from which they were not expelled until 1413.

Anadeva, a Telugu-Choda chief of the region between the Krishna and Godāvari, was another ally of Firuz. To counteract his influence, Devarāya entered into an alliance with his brother-in-law Kātayavema, the Reddi chief of Rājamahendravarman (Rajahmundry). Fighting began in 1415 and at first went against Anadeva until Firuz came to his rescue and Kātayavema was killed. Devarāya's forces were also beaten so that Firuz was able to maintain his suzerainty in Telengana. Devarāya retaliated by capturing Pangal, thus threatening Firuz's line of communication; the town was then subjected to a siege lasting two years. The defection of the Velamas of Rājakonda, who joined Devarāya, weakened the Bāhmanī forces, so that when plague further reduced

their strength, Devarāya won an overwhelming victory (1419). The Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry recovered under Allāda, Kātayavema's general, who upheld the cause of his master's son Kumāragiri. Kondavīdu, however, was partitioned between Devarāya and the Velamas of Rājakonda (1420) and suffered extinction. In all these battles and wars, Devarāya was notably assisted by his son Vira Vijaya Rāya and his minister Lakshmi-dhara who is said to have saved the king from a plot to murder him. When Devarāya died in 1422, his son Rāmachandra occupied the throne for a few months, and was then followed by his brother Vira Vijaya Rāya. Towards the close of Devarāya's reign the Italian Nicolo Conti visited Vijayanagar and his description of the city has survived to this day.

The duration of Vira Vijaya Rāya's reign has been variously estimated; tentatively it may be said to have lasted for about five years (1422-6). Nuniz says he 'did nothing worth recording'. His son, who in due course succeeded him as Devarāya II, was associated with him in the administration almost from the beginning. The traditional enmity with the Bāhmanīs continued, so it was not long before Ahmad Shah began a war against Vijaya and inflicted a defeat on his forces and great slaughter and destruction on the civil population of the country. The armies met on the banks of the Tungabhadra; Vijaya's camp was surprised in the early morning and the king hurriedly made his escape to a sugarcane plantation. He was found by the Muslim soldiers; but they mistook him for a common labourer and, when they came to know of the sultan's victory, they left him and hastened to join their friends. Ahmad Shah then overran the open country, and 'laying aside all humanity, whenever the number of the slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody work. He broke down the idol temples, and destroyed the colleges of Brahmins.' Before peace could be had, Vijaya had to pay a vast sum as arrears of tribute, and to acquiesce in the conqueror carrying many of his subjects, including several learned Brahmins, into captivity.

Vijaya Rāya was succeeded by his son Devarāya II in about 1426. Devarāya's title *gajabētekāra* ('Hunter of Elephants') has been explained in two ways—as a metaphor referring to his victories over enemy kings who were strong as elephants, and more literally as indicating the monarch's addiction to the sport of

hunting elephants. By about 1428 Devarāya effected the conquest and annexation of the Kondavidu country which had been in a weak and disorganized state after the death in 1420 of the intrepid Peda Komati Vema. He followed this up by invading the Gajapati kingdom of Orissa, possibly because the conquest of Kondavidu brought Devarāya into conflict with Gajapati's subordinates; but before hostilities could proceed, Allāda Reddy of Rajahmundry intervened and brought about peace between the combatants. Allāda died shortly after this and was succeeded by his sons Allaya Vema and Virabhadra who followed their father's general policy of aggrandizement at the expense of Kalinga. The accession of Kapileśvara, an energetic ruler in Kalinga, in 1435, naturally resulted in a Gajapati invasion of the kingdom of Rajahmundry. The rulers of Rajahmundry sought help from the Vijayanagar ruler connected with them by ties of political and dynastic alliance. Devarāya II responded, and his troops drove the Kalinga army back and secured a temporary respite for the kingdom of Rajahmundry until it was swallowed up by Kapileśvara after Devarāya II's death.

Devarāya also carried his arms into Kerala, subjugating the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains. The Zamorin of Calicut, however, seems to have continued to retain his independence. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited South India in this reign, states that although the Zamorin was not under Devarāya's authority, he lived in great fear of him, and when he received a letter from the Vijayanagar monarch that the Persian ambassador should be sent to his court without delay he instantly carried out the order. The same writer bears testimony to the supremacy of Devarāya over the whole of South India, saying that his dominions extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malabar. Nuniz asserts that Devarāya also exacted tribute from the rulers of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Pegu and Tenasserim and elsewhere.

With the Bāhmani kingdom, however, Devarāya's relations continued to be hostile. Soon after his accession in 1436, sultan Ala-ud-din II sent his brother Muhammad against Vijayanagar to recover 'the arrears of tribute', and Devarāya had to pay a large amount. The Vijayanagar armies were so consistently defeated in their contests with Bāhmani forces that Devarāya held a council of his nobility to explore the causes of Muslim successes and devise

means of counteracting them. As a result, Mussalmans were thenceforth eligible for service in his army and allowed the free exercise of their religion; a Koran was placed before his throne that they 'might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence, without sinning against their laws'. Further, the Hindu soldiers received better training, particularly in archery. After this reorganization the army became a more efficient striking force.

Abdur Razzak relates that while he was staying at Calicut in 1443, a brother of Devarāya II attempted to murder the king at a banquet. The plot was a failure, however, because the king excused himself on the score of health, though many nobles fell into the trap and lost their lives. Ala-ud-din Bāhmani II evidently knew of the conspiracy, and tried to take advantage of the confusion by demanding from Devarāya the payment of 'seven lakhs of *varāhas*' (pagodas). Devarāya returned a defiant answer which he soon followed up by an invasion of the Raichur doab. The campaign began very well; Mudgal was taken, Raichur and Bankapur were besieged and the country up to Bijapur laid waste. But the Bāhmani forces soon rallied and compelled Devarāya to fall back on Mudgal. In the last of three engagements that followed, Devarāya's elder son was killed, and his troops were driven back into the fortress of Mudgal. Two important Bāhmani generals, however, were taken prisoners until the sultan threatened a wholesale massacre of the Hindu population if they were not released; and Devarāya did not feel strong enough to refuse the Sultan's terms.

Devarāya was a great builder and a patron of poets. Himself a scholar and author, he is reputed to have presided with conspicuous success over many literary disputations. In one such, the Telugu poet Śrinātha was held to surpass the poet-laureate who belonged to the celebrated Dīṇḍima family, and is said to have been bathed in a shower of golden *tankas*.

Devarāya's long, and generally prosperous, reign came to an end with his death in May 1446. He was succeeded by a Vijaya Rāya II and then, very shortly after, by his own son Mallikārjuna who was crowned some time before May 1447.

Mallikārjuna was weak and incompetent so that, from his accession, there began a period of dissension, decline and confusion until the strength of the empire was restored, over forty years later, by the martial ability and statesmanship of Sāluva Narasimha.

The interval is marked by much agitation, discontent, and opposition to the members of the old royal family, several of whom met with violent deaths. At the start of his reign, the Velamas made a new home for themselves in Velugodu (Kurnool district) when their capital Rājakonda was seized by the Bāhmanis and the neighbouring princelings then disturbed the peace and weakened the realm—a situation of which both Ala-ud-din II and Kapileśvara Gajapati took advantage. They laid siege to Vijayanagar; but, true to its name, that city defied all their efforts to capture it and the invading armies had to retire without accomplishing much.

Kapileśvara, however, kept up the war, capturing Rajahmundry and Kondavidu before 1454, being aided in his enterprise by the Kshatriya and Velama chieftains of Telengana. His conquests extended up to Śrīśailam and included a large part of the Kurnool district. He sent his son Hambar against Mahmud Gawan, whom he defeated, to capture Wārangal in Telengana, and later, on Humayun's death in 1461, Bidar. He then conquered Udayagiri in Nellore, and Kānchipuram and Trichinopoly in the southern provinces of the empire of Vijayanagar (1463).

The Odḍa empire reached its greatest extent at this time, its influence being felt from the Ganges to the Kaveri. But unlike the Telugu districts, which became part of the empire of Orissa for some years, the southern lands did not pass out of the control of Vijayanagar, and the Oriya invasion of the South was only a sudden raid followed by speedy withdrawal. The sovereignty of Vijayanagar was upheld by its powerful nobles ruling in almost complete independence of the emperor Mallikārjuna; such were Sāluva Gopa Timma, also known as Tirumalaideva Mahārāja who held Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Pudukkōṭṭai, and Sāluva Narasimha, equally prominent in the centre and in the eastern parts of the empire. The latter was assisted by Iṣvara, an able soldier of Tuluva extraction. Mallikārjuna died some time between June and October 1465.

He left behind an infant son, Rājaśekhara, but the throne was occupied by his cousin Virūpāksha II. Virūpāksha was the son of Pratāpadevarāya, a younger brother of Devarāya II, and had been ruler of Penugonda for several years before he assumed the imperial crown. Nuniz records that 'he was given over to vice, caring for nothing but women, and to fuddle himself with drink.' It is not surprising, therefore, that large tracts of land were lost

to the Muslims including Goa, Chaul and Dabhol. The authority of the central government continued to decline, and total disruption was, once again, only prevented by the initiative of powerful provincial governors. Most prominent among these was Sāluva Narasimha, ruler of Chandragiri *rājya*, whose inscriptions begin as early as 1456. His dominions must have suffered during the Odḍa invasion of 1463, and he now began a war against the Gajapati and captured Udayagiri after a siege (1470). He suppressed a rebellion in the Tamil districts and, taking advantage of the civil war in Orissa that followed Kapileśvara's death, he expelled the Oriyas from the eastern districts of the empire and made himself master of all the territory up to the Godāvari. Kondavidu and Masulipatam fell into his hands before 1477. It seems probable that Narasimha helped Purushottama Gajapati to regain the throne of Orissa from which he had been expelled by Hambar with the aid of the Bāhmani sultan Muhammad III. Narasimha and Purushottama had to face the hostility of that sultan, and the war that followed, in 1478-81, has been described in the last chapter. The Tuluva general Iśvara particularly distinguished himself by recapturing much of the booty which the sultan had gathered by his daring raid on Kānchipuram.

Virūpāksha II continued to rule till the middle of 1485 when he was murdered by his eldest son. The parricide, however, declined the throne and had his younger brother, Padearao (Praudha-devarāya), crowned king. The first act of the new king, however, was to procure the assassination of the brother to whom he owed the throne, and then to plunge into debauchery and neglect the affairs of state. Sāluva Narasimha saw that the only way to save the kingdom was to put an end to the old dynasty and to assume the royal title himself. He therefore commanded his general Narasa Nāyaka to proceed against Vijayanagar and capture the city. 'Nuniz gives us a graphic account of the last scenes; how Narasimha's captain arrived at the city gates and found them undefended; how he penetrated the palace and found no one to oppose him; how he even went as far as the harem "slaying some of the women"; and how at last the craven king fled.' Thereupon Narasimha was 'raised to be king' (1486) and the kingdom came to be called after him. There can be no doubt that by this act of 'usurpation' Narasimha and his supporters saved the empire from disruption. All the same, there was much opposition to

Narasimha's elevation and he had to spend time and energy in fighting and subduing recalcitrant chieftains like the Sambetas of Peranipādu (Cuddapah district), the *pālayagars* of Ummattur near Mysore, and others. He certainly overcame his internal troubles but they greatly weakened his capacity to resist his foreign enemies. For instance, when Purushottama Gajapati took advantage of the weakness of the Bāhmani kingdom after the death of Muhammad III and conquered all the eastern coastal country south of Orissa up to the Gundlakamma river in the Nellore district by about 1489 and even advanced to Udayagiri and laid siege to it; Narasimha's attempt to raise the siege proved disastrous. Defeated in battle and taken prisoner, he only secured his release by agreeing to surrender the fort and the surrounding country.

The loss of the western ports in the reign of Virūpāksha II had dislocated the horse trade of the Arabs on which the Vijayanagar army depended for its cavalry. Narasimha, however, revived the trade by conquering the Tulu country and manning the ports of Honavar, Bhaṭṭakkula (Bhatkal), Bākanūr and Mangalore. 'He caused horses to be brought from Ormuz and Aden into his kingdom, and thereby gave profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they had asked' (Nuniz). He also took steps to strengthen the efficiency and the martial spirit of his troops.

He did not long survive his defeat at Udayagiri, however, and died in 1491. He left behind two young sons whom he commended to the care of his loyal general Narasa Nāyaka, the son of Tuluva Iśvara. Narasa at first made the elder prince Timmabhūpa king, but Tymmarasa, a rival of Narasa Nāyaka, had him murdered. The crown then descended to the younger prince, Immaḍi Narasimha (1491); but Narasa Nāyaka retained all real power in his hands as regent, and even assumed the royal style along with his Sāluva titles. Friction thus naturally arose between him and the king which was increased when Immaḍi Narasimha refused to punish Tymmarasa, the murderer of his elder brother, as Narasa Nāyaka wanted, but received him into favour. The breach between them reached such a pass that Narasa Nāyaka marched with his troops from Penugonda to lay siege to Vijayanagar (1492), and, as the price of peace with the regent, Immaḍi Narasimha had to abandon Tymmarasa who was punished with death. The king was now removed to Penugonda where he was kept under close

surveillance. It was indeed a second usurpation, which necessarily led to a crop of fresh internal troubles which hampered Narasa Nayaka throughout the twelve or thirteen years he was the virtual ruler of the kingdom.

At his death, Sāluva Narasimha had besought Narasa Nayaka to capture the forts of Raichur and Udayagiri, which had rebelled against him but 'which he could not subdue because time failed him'. In 1492-3 Quasim Barid, the Bāhmani minister, offered Narasa Nayaka the forts of Raichur and Mudgal in return for an attack on Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur, now an independent monarch. Narasa accepted the terms and sent into the Raichur doab an army which 'having crossed the river Tungabhadra, laid waste the country as far as Mudgal and Raichur' (Ferishta). Adil Khan was in no position to resist the invader immediately as he had also to contend with other enemies whom Quasim Barid had set up against him at the same time. As soon as he had succeeded in repelling them, and found himself free to attempt the recovery of Raichur, Narasa Nayaka had to defend his recent conquests. Yusuf Adil Khan met with little success, however; he was defeated and forced to seek refuge in the fortress of Manvi, north of the Tungabhadra in the neighbourhood of Adoni. He then pretended submission and invited Narasa to a peace conference where the Bijapur ruler treacherously attacked him and his followers and put seventy persons of rank to death. The Hindu army fled and gave Adil Khan the victory; but the doab continued to remain part of the Vijayanagar empire till 1502 when, as the result of a *jihad* undertaken by the Bāhmani nobles at the instance of Mahmud II, it passed into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah along with the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal.

In the south there had been no effective assertion of the authority of the empire after the raid of Kapileśvara Gajapati in 1463-4. Sāluva Narasimha had been too busy nearer home, and it is doubtful if his authority was acknowledged south of the Kaveri. About 1496, or perhaps a little earlier, Narasa Nayaka marched south, controlled the tyrannical oppression of officials like Kōnētirāja, Governor of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, against whom the Vaishnavas of Śrīrangam had many complaints, and subjugated the whole land up to Cape Comorin, compelling the local Chola and Chera rulers, and Mānabhūsha of Madura, to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. He also attacked Śrīrangapattana

(Seringapatam) after throwing a bridge across the Kaveri, and its Heuṇa chieftain Nanjarāja had to submit. Further conquests on the west coast and a march to Gokarna (1497) closed this extensive and successful campaign.

Narasa Nāyaka again came into conflict with the Gajapati king towards the close of his rule. Purushottama died in 1496 after a reign of thirty years and was succeeded by his son Pratāparudra. He attacked Vijayanagar territory with a view to conquering the South (c. 1499). Narasa was quite equal to holding his own and the campaign ended without any marked gains to either side, and the boundary of the Gajapati kingdom continued to be to the south of the Krishna river.

When Narasa Nāyaka died in 1503, he could truthfully claim to have continued the work of his master Sāluva Narasimha and to have imparted fresh strength to the empire. He had established its authority effectively over the whole of its extensive dominions and had reorganized the army. Indeed he may be said to have laid the foundations on which his talented son, Krishnadeva Rāya, built the glorious age that followed.

Immediately after his death, however, his place as regent was taken by his eldest son Immaḍi Narasa Nāyaka, better known as Vīra Narasimha. The lawful sovereign, Immaḍi Narasimha, continued to be kept under tutelage, though he must in fact have been old enough to look after affairs. He was finally assassinated early in 1505, and was shortly afterwards succeeded by Vīra Narasimha, who thus inaugurated the third, or the Tuluva dynasty of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Nuniz notes that after Narasa's death 'the whole land revolted under its captains', and the murder of the king and the following usurpation could not have made the position of Vīra Narasimha any the easier. His six-year reign was almost wholly spent in fighting and success did not always attend him. Yusuf Adil Khan again sought to extend his dominion beyond the Tungabhadra which he crossed to lay siege to Kurnool. Rāmarāja of the Aravīdu family and his son Timma stood by Vīra Narasimha, forced Adil Khan to retire and, by pursuing the retreating army, inflicted a defeat upon it. They expelled the treacherous captain of Adoni, which they occupied and later received, along with the fortress of Kurnool, as fiefs from their grateful emperor.

Meantime, the Heuṇa chiefs of Ummattur and Śrirangapattana had set up the standard of revolt, and Vīra Narasimha left his

half-brother Krishnarāya in charge of the capital while he marched to the south to lay siege to Ummattur. Failing to take the place after three months, he raised the siege and proceeded to attack Śrirangapattana but with no better results. Some minor successes, however, attended him in the Tulu country. He also entered into friendly relations with the Portuguese who were just establishing themselves on the west coast, and sent an embassy to Almeida at Cannanore with a view to the better training of his armed forces and the procuring of horses for his cavalry. When Almeida wanted to build a fortress at Bhatkal, however, he sent him no answer. He tried to make his people more warlike by encouraging his nobles to settle their disputes by duelling, and he rewarded skill in swordsmanship by presenting the winners with beautiful girls.

Vira Narasimha also tried to recover Goa. The Italian traveller Varthema recorded that the Muslim governor of that place was at war with the king of Vijayanagar (1506); but the result of the campaign is not known. He was concerting measures to renew his attack on Ummattur when he died in 1509. Munificent gifts to all the important shrines of South India, such as Rāmeśvaram, Śrirangam, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram, Śrīsailam, Kānchipuram, Kālahasti, Mahānandi and Gokarna, are recorded in his name in the inscriptions of his time. Nuniz records that, while on his death-bed, he sent for his minister Sāluva Timma and ordered him to put out the eyes of Krishnadeva Rāya in order to secure the throne for his eight-year-old son, and that the minister satisfied the dying king by producing before him the eyes of a she-goat. There is, however, no evidence that the relations between the two half-brothers were anything but friendly, and indigenous tradition avers that Vira Narasimha himself chose Krishnadeva Rāya for the succession.

The earliest inscription of Krishnadeva is dated 26 July 1509. His coronation was celebrated about a fortnight later on the birthday of Śrī Krishna, to convey the suggestion that the king was an incarnation of the Lord. The reign of Krishnadeva Rāya was 'the period of Vijayanagar's greatest success, when its armies were everywhere victorious, and the city was most prosperous'. Krishnadeva was between twenty and twenty-five years of age at his accession. Paes, who saw him about ten years later, said: 'The king is of medium height and of fair complexion and good figure,

rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage'. Krishnadeva kept up his bodily strength by hard physical exercise, he was a fine rider and his noble presence made a pleasant impression on all who came into contact with him. He often led his armies in person and exhibited great steadfastness and courage in the face of danger. He had great care for the welfare of the rank and file of the forces, and visited the wounded after each engagement and arranged for their proper care. He was loved and respected by all and was, says Paes, ' gallant and perfect in all things '.

At the time of Krishnadeva's succession, however, the condition of the empire was by no means reassuring. The rebel chieftain of Ummattur was contesting the lordship of the best part of the Mysore country; the Gajapatis of Orissa were in occupation of the north-eastern districts and Pratāparudra was openly hostile and aggressive; and though the Bāhmani kingdom had virtually split up into five separate states, still the Muslim pressure from the north, especially from Bijapur, continued unabated in its strength. There was also the newly-risen power of the Portuguese to contend with—a power which was rapidly establishing control over the routes and the maritime trade of the west coast and seeking profitable political contacts with ' the country powers '. Nevertheless, within ten short years Krishnadeva succeeded in firmly establishing the authority of Vijayanagar all over the country; there was no thought of revolt and no great discontent anywhere within his vast realm, and the Portuguese became his friends.

His first task was to repulse the Bāhmani forces which invaded his territory in pursuit of the policy of annual *jihad* resolved upon by Mahmud II in 1501. As usual, prominent Bāhmani nobles assembled in Bidar and started with the Sultan Mahmud II on their annual raid into the Rāya's kingdom (1509); but they soon discovered that they were no longer free to plunder and ravage. The progress of the Muslim armies was checked at the unidentified town of Diwani where they were decisively defeated in the battle that followed. The sultan himself was thrown off his horse and sustained serious injuries from which he recovered only slowly,

whereupon his nobles 'folded up the carpet of contention and war', and returned to Bidar. Krishnadeva pursued the retiring armies, particularly that of Yusuf Adil Khan, who turned round to oppose him near Kovilkonda and lost his life in the battle that followed. The citadel of Kovilkonda became Krishnadeva's before he returned to his capital.

At the start of this war, the Portuguese governor, Albuquerque, sent an agent to offer aid to Krishnadeva in return for Vijayanagar support against the Zamorin of Calicut; he also promised to supply Arab and Persian horses only to Vijayanagar, and not to send any to Bijapur. Eager as Krishnadeva was to secure a monopoly in the horse trade, he did not immediately accept the offer. The second Portuguese embassy to Krishnadeva renewed Almeida's request to erect a fort at Bhatkal and gained its object. This was after Albuquerque had attacked and captured Goa at the end of 1510—the result of many months' fighting during which the town changed hands several times between the Portuguese and Bijapur troops.

After this preliminary canter against his foes, Krishnadeva spent some time in his capital reorganizing his army and converting the motley feudal levies into an effective fighting force. He then invaded the Raichur doab and took the Raichur fort, finding his opportunity in the differences that had arisen between Bijapur and the Bāhmanī sultan. Yusuf Adil Khan had been succeeded by his young son Ismail Adil Shah as nominal ruler in Bijapur, but Kamal Khan was all powerful and had his own designs on the throne; Kamal Khan also knew that Krishnadeva was friendly with the Portuguese, and so the opposition from Bijapur to Krishna's invasion on this occasion was very feeble. Kamal Khan was assassinated in May 1511 by a hireling employed by Ismail's mother, which led to fresh troubles for Bijapur from Persian and Khurasani nobles who were the friends of the murdered regent. Krishnadeva, however, was entirely free to pursue his designs, so that after the capture of Raichur he marched on Gulbarga, defeated Amir Barid, the minister and gaoler of Mahmud II, and took the city. From there he marched on Bidar, captured it after a short siege, released Mahmud II and assumed the title 'establisher of the Yavana (Muslim) kingdom'.

At the same time, Krishnadeva was also fighting his other enemies: the rebellious chieftain of Ummattur and the Gajapati

ruler of Orissa. The war against Gangarāya of Ummattur who had been in revolt since the last years of Vīra Narasimha's reign was undertaken soon after the repulse of the Bāhmanī invasion, and may be said to have lasted from August 1510 to the end of 1512. It began with an attack on Penugonda, which had passed into the hands of the rebel; the capture of this strong fortress was followed by attacks on Ummattur and Šivanasamudram (the headquarters of Gangarāya). The latter took over a year to reduce; Gangarāya fled and was drowned in the Kaveri, and his seat was razed to the ground. The conquered territory became a new province with Šrīrangapattana as its capital; Sāluva Govindarāya was appointed its first governor, while the local administration was entrusted to three local chieftains, the famous Kempe Gauda of Bangalūru (Bangalore) being one of them.

A third front was opened against the Orissa ruler, who had been in occupation of the coastal districts in the east from the days of Sāluva Narasimha, soon after the king's accession. It was only pressed with vigour, however, after the close of the campaign against Gangarāya. An army was then sent to lay siege to Udayagiri in 1513, and soon Krishnadeva himself joined it and conducted the operation. The fort was taken after the siege had lasted for a year and a half during which Krishnadeva had many new paths cut up the rocky hills to enable his troops to reach the walls of the inaccessible citadel.

On his way back to his own capital Krishna and his queens Tirumala Devi and Chinna Devi visited Tirupati and gave thanks to Venkatesvara (July 1514). His religious orthodoxy was also shown by the capture from Udayagiri and re-erection in Vijayanagar of a fine image of Bālakrishna. The sage Vyāsarāya composed songs celebrating the occasion.

Pratāparudra's attempt to raise the siege of Udayagiri resulted in defeat and the pursuit of the retiring forces up to Kondavīdu. To the Vijayanagar army it was a triumphal march all the way, the smaller forts either submitting or being easily captured. Then began the siege of Kondavīdu, first by Sāluva Timmarasa and later by the king. Being the chief city of the Gajapati dominions south of the Krishna river, it was strongly guarded and many chiefs of the kingdom were stationed in it. Only after many months, when many of its inmates had died of starvation, were the walls scaled and the garrison overcome. Many Oriya nobles, including a son

and the wife of the Gajapati ruler, were taken captive, and the prisoners sent by road to Vijayanagar.

Krishnadeva Rāya entrusted the administration of the district of Kondavidu to Sāluva Timma before he and his queens proceeded to Amaravati to offer worship to Amareśvara. From there he went back to the capital after visiting Śrīśailam to make magnificent gifts to Mallikārjuna.

Soon he was on the march once more to join his army in the field, but he found time to visit the shrine of Narasimha at Ahobalam on his way to Vijayavāda, which was taken and made the advanced base for further operations. A few miles to the north-west was Kondapalli, a strong and well-defended fort with lofty walls. Krishnadeva laid siege to it; an army sent for its relief by Pratāparudra was met on the banks of the Krishna and thoroughly defeated. The siege was then pressed for two months longer until the fortress surrendered. The seizure of many other forts in Telengana, and the occupation of large parts of the Nalgonda and Wārangal districts then under the suzerainty of the Gajapati, speedily followed.

This campaign effectively completed the conquest of Telengana. Krishnadeva next turned his attention to the country of Kalinga proper where Rājamahendravaram (Rajahmundry) was one of the first cities to be taken. A few feeble attempts were made to stop its progress, but the Vijayanagar army continued its triumphal march, devastating the territory of the Gajapati all along the road, up to Potnūr-Simhādri. There Krishnadeva set up a pillar of victory and then returned to his capital by way of Rajahmundry (1516). His invading and victorious army pressed on, however, and marched further into Kalinga until its capital, Cuttack, was reached. Reduced to extremity, Pratāparudra sued for peace and offered the emperor the hand of his daughter, which was accepted. Krishnadeva, indeed, was magnanimous and returned all the territory north of the Krishna.

While Krishnadeva was busy with his Orissa campaign (which may be called one of the most brilliant military episodes in the history of sixteenth-century India) Ismail Adil Khan recaptured Raichur. Krishnadeva's campaign for its recovery (1520) is described by Nuniz. Determined to try conclusions once for all with the Adil Shah, Krishnadeva marched against him with an army consisting 'of about a million of men, if the camp-followers

be included' and over five hundred elephants; he pitched his camp to the east of Raichur and began a regular siege of the fortress. Ismail came to its relief with strong contingents of cavalry and advanced to within nine miles of Raichur where he entrenched himself, leaving the Krishna river about five miles behind. The decisive battle was joined on the morning of 19 May 1520. It opened with a frontal attack by the Vijayanagar troops which drove the Muslims back to their trenches; but then the artillery of the Muslims came into play and wrought much havoc among the close ranks of the Hindus who fell back and were charged by the enemy. Krishnadeva, who was in command of the second line, then mounted his horse and ordered a forward movement of the remaining divisions. Their impetuous onslaught overcame and scattered the ranks of the Muslim forces who were relentlessly pursued right up to the river, and the threatened defeat was converted into brilliant victory. The Shah's camp was seized and he himself barely escaped with his life on an elephant. 'The spoil was great and the result decisive.' The sultan of Bijapur thenceforth cherished a wholesome dread of Krishnadeva Rāya and did not venture to renew the contest during his lifetime. Krishnadeva returned to Raichur and shortly afterwards recaptured it. Its fall was in large measure due to the assistance rendered by some Portuguese soldiers with Christovao de Figueiredo at their head; with their arquebuses they 'picked off the defenders from the walls' and enabled the besiegers 'to approach the lines of fortification and pull down the stones of which they were formed'. The Portuguese commander was specially honoured by the king in the next *Mahānavami* festival in the capital.

This resounding success against the Adil Shah had important political results. Krishnadeva personally became haughty and made provocative demands on his defeated foe; he kept his ambassador waiting at Vijayanagar for over a month and then sent word that if the Adil Shah would come and kiss his foot in obeisance, his lands and fortresses would be restored to him. The Muslim sultans saw the danger to their position in the rising military strength of Vijayanagar and in its capacity to interfere in their affairs, which led, by and by, to more concerted action on their part against Vijayanagar. Lastly, the Portuguese on the coast gained by the result of the battle of Raichur: 'Goa rose and fell simultaneously with the rise and fall of the third Vijayanagar

dynasty; and necessarily so, considering that its entire trade depended on Hindu support'.

The machinations of one Asad Khan Lari, a wily courtier of Ismail Shah, who had been sent to Vijayanagar to conclude a treaty, led Krishnadeva into yet another campaign against Bijapur in 1523. According to Asad Khan's undertaking, the Adil Khan or his mother would meet Krishnadeva at a certain point on the northern frontier of the kingdom. As he did not find them, however, he marched on Gulbarga by way of teaching them a lesson, and razed its fortress to the ground. He also captured the fortress cities of Firuzabad and Sagar, and led his army up to Bijapur 'which for a time he occupied and left sadly injured'. At Gulbarga he liberated the three sons of Mahmud II Bāhmanī, made the eldest of them sultan, and brought the other two with him to Vijayanagar and treated them with much consideration. But this attempt to resuscitate Bāhmanī sovereignty under Hindu patronage lacked all possibility of success and perhaps only served to irritate the more the sultans of the five succession states.

Nuniz narrates that Krishnadeva in his own lifetime made his six year old son king and himself took up the post of minister. This must have been about 1524 when we have the inscriptions of prince Tirumalai Rāya, who was obviously made *yuvarāja* at the time. Nuniz also states that during the festivities of the coronation which lasted eight months, Tirumalai Rāya took ill and died, poisoned by the son of Sāluva Timma whose position as chief minister had been lowered by the elevation of the prince. When Krishnadeva Rāya came to know of it, he sent for the minister, accused him in open court of the dastardly crime, and cast him and his whole family into prison. In this, certain Portuguese at his court helped him; and when one of Timma's sons escaped, he was caught and blinded with the remaining prisoners.

The Adil Shah now advanced again to try to retrieve his broken fortunes, but when Krishnadeva Rāya took the field against him, he retreated in haste. The king was preparing for an attack on Belgaum, then in the Adil Shah's possession, when he took seriously ill and died soon after (1529). He nominated his half-brother, Achyuta Rāya, to be his successor.

Pre-eminent as a warrior, Krishnadeva Rāya was equally great as statesman, administrator, and patron of the arts. The grandeur of his court excited the warm admiration of many foreign visitors

and their description of the great wealth of Vijayanagar, its festivals, its military strength and its heroic king make eloquent reading. All South India was under Krishnadeva Rāya's sway, and many quasi-independent chiefs—like those of Bankapur, Gersoppa, Bhatkal, and so on—were his vassals. The empire, although under his direct rule, was itself divided into a number of governorships under generals, each of whom enjoyed practical independence so long as he maintained a certain quota of horse, foot and elephants in constant readiness for action and paid his annual contribution to the central treasury. For such a system to work efficiently, the monarch had to command the universal respect of his subjects and exhibit great energy, tact and vigilance in the performance of his public duties. Krishnadeva proved himself more than equal to this task, and there was no confusion or disorder anywhere in the realm during his reign. He was a scholar and poet and the Telugu poem *Āmuktamālyada* passes under his name; it contains an exposition, by the way, of the principles of political administration practised by the monarch. The illustrious Telugu poet Allasāni Peddana graced his court as Poet Laureate, and many of the foremost scholars of the time were attracted by the discriminating liberality of the emperor. 'King Krishna Rāya was in no way less famous for his religious zeal and catholicity. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism. Krishna Rāya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial outlook and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and, above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmins, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs.'

Krishnadeva Rāya was a great builder and added much to the beauty and amenities of the capital. At the beginning of his reign he built a new *gopura* (tower) and repaired another in the temple of Virūpāksha. In 1513, as already mentioned, he erected the shrine of Krishnasvāmi to house worthily the image of Bālakrishna

he had brought from Udayagiri. With the aid of a Portuguese engineer, whose services he borrowed from the Governor-General of Goa, he improved the irrigation of the dry lands round about Vijayanagar. He added a beautiful suburb to the capital on its southern approaches, and called it *Nāgalāpūr* in honour of his mother *Nāgalā Devī*; the new city's water supply came from the new tank which was under construction at the time Paes visited the city. The temple of *Viṭṭhalasvāmi* on the river bank was also embellished by Krishna Rāya; it marks the extreme limit in the 'florid magnificence' to which the Vijayanagar style advanced. Work on it continued for many years afterwards, and was perhaps only stopped when the Mussalmans destroyed the city in 1565. The enormous statue of Narasimha, hewn out of a single boulder of granite, that lay near the south-western angle of the Krishna-svāmi temple was one of the latest monuments of the reign (1528). Though much mutilated, it is still a striking object amongst the ruins of the city.

Nuniz, who spent some time in Achyuta Rāya's court, affirms that the new king gave himself over to vice and tyranny, that he lacked honesty and courage, and that the people and captains of the kingdom were much discontented with his evil life and inclinations. Achyuta does not, in fact, appear to have been such a bad monarch. He was specially chosen by Krishnadeva for the succession in preference to his infant son who was only eighteen months old. Yet it cannot be denied that his position was difficult at the time of his accession (1529). The infant son of Krishna Rāya was proclaimed king by Rāma Rāya; but Rāma's attempt to seize power in the name of the infant was foiled by Sāluva Vīra Narasimha who kept the throne vacant for Achyuta till he could come up from Chandragiri where he had been confined by Krishnadeva Rāya, along with other princes of the family, in order to secure the peace of the realm. On his way to Vijayanagar, Achyuta Rāya held two coronations, one at Tirupati and the other at Kalahasti, in an attempt to forestall Rāma Rāya's efforts to enthrone another king.

Krishnadeva's death was the signal for all the enemies of Vijayanagar to renew their attacks on that kingdom. Ismail Adil Khan once again invaded the Raichur doab and seized Raichur and Mudgal, before Achyuta could do any thing to prevent it. (This is almost the only occurrence of the entire reign noticed by Nuniz.)

The Gajapati ruler, however, who led an invasion at the same time was defeated and turned back; so also the sultan of Golconda, Quli Qutb Shah, whose attempt to seize Kondavidu was likewise foiled.

When he finally reached Vijayanagar, Achyuta came to terms with Rāma Rāya and agreed to share the power with him. This greatly displeased Sāluva Vira Narasihma who retired from the court and set up the standard of revolt in the south with the aid of the chieftains of Ummattur and the Tiruvadī *rājya* in south Travancore. Achyuta Rāya marched against them, with an army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakarāju Tirumala. The campaign was one victorious progress up to the banks of the Tambraparni where a pillar of victory was set up. The Pāndya ruler who had suffered at the hands of the rebels was restored to his kingdom and his daughter accepted as the emperor's bride. Sāluva Vira Narasimha and his allies were not only defeated in battle but captured and brought as prisoners to the king's camp at Śrīrangam. Achyuta returned to his capital via Ummattur to receive the submission of local chieftains on the way.

When Krishnadeva Rāya's infant son died soon afterwards, Rāma Rāya's position was considerably weakened. It brought about a change in Achyuta Rāya's attitude; he advanced his own powers still further by invading that much disputed territory, the Raichur doab, and subduing the Bijapur country as far north as the Krishna. This was possible because Ismail Adil Khan's death, in 1534, left the Bijapur throne to his unpopular son Mallu Adil Khan. The nobility rose against him at the instance of the notorious Asad Khan Lari, and Achyuta was not slow to take advantage of the situation, with Mallu consenting to make peace on Achyuta's terms.

The history of the subsequent years is obscure. A rebellion in Gutti seems to have been suppressed in 1536-7, after which he paid a visit to Tirupati with his officers. Rāma Rāya was strengthening his position by removing old servants and appointing his own relatives and friends in their place. He also took into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrahim Adil Khan, the new sultan of Bijapur, had dismissed from his service on his accession in 1535. He then made bold to seize Achyuta when he returned to the capital, kept him imprisoned and proclaimed himself king; but the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon the scheme, enthrone Sadāśiva, a nephew of Achyuta, and carry on the

government in his name. This went on until rebellions in the south forced Rāma Rāya to leave the capital, when he put Achyuta into the charge of a trusted servant. The campaign in the south was no unalloyed success, and lasted longer than Rāma Rāya had expected. Meanwhile, the trusted servant in charge of Achyuta set him free and assumed the office of chief minister. He was soon done away with by Salakarāju Tirumala, however, who took the direction of affairs into his hands. These occurrences made it expedient for Rāma Rāya to patch up his quarrels with the rebels in the south and return to the capital.

Troubles come not singly and Ibrahim Adil Khan chose this moment to march against Vijayanagar and lay siege to it. He entered Nāgalāpūr and 'razed it to the ground' perhaps by way of reprisal for the treatment of Bijapur by Krishnadeva Rāya. Both Achyuta and Rāma Rāya were afraid of Ibrahim joining forces with the other party, while the machinations of the wily Asad Khan brought about an invasion of Bijapur by the sultan of Ahmadnagar. Ibrahim opened negotiations with both the Hindu princes and settled their quarrel before he retired to his own territory. It was agreed that Achyuta would be king, but Rāma Rāya was to be free to rule his estate without interference. Ibrahim was richly rewarded with large sums of money for his service, and the terms of the compact were observed by both parties till the death of Achyuta in 1542.

The whole of Achyuta Rāya's reign was spent in a struggle against adverse conditions created by internal revolts, foreign aggression and the intrigues and ambitions of Rāma Rāya. Trade everywhere was hampered and pilgrim traffic suffered from the activities of bandits who infested, if they did not control, the highways. Achyuta put up a brave fight against his many difficulties and does not merit the harsh judgement passed on him by Nuniz and others who have accepted a low estimate of his character. His life forms the subject of an ornate poem in Sanskrit, the *Achyutarāyābhhyudaya*, by the court-poet Rājanātha Dīṇḍima, written during the lifetime of the monarch: even after making all possible allowances for the intemperate eulogies which the poem contains, we can still sense that Achyuta had uncommon and praiseworthy characteristics.

Meanwhile, both during the reign of Achyuta Rāya and in the period that followed, the Portuguese had been busily establishing

their empire on the coasts of South India, building forts wherever the protection of their trade demanded them. Wars with the Zamorin of Calicut and the feudatories of the empire were frequent, though they still kept up the appearance of friendly relations with the emperor himself. They acted throughout as if they had 'a divine right to the pillage, robbery, and massacre of the natives of India. Not to mince matters, their whole record is one of a series of atrocities.' They delighted particularly in plundering all rich temples within their reach, even Tirupati not escaping their predatory attentions (1545).

Viśvanātha Nāyaka, son of Nāgama Nāyaka, was regarded by his descendants in later times as the founder of the celebrated Nāyak dynasty of Madura. He must have followed Achyuta in his southern campaign and fought in the wars against Sāluva Vīra Narasimha, Tiruvaḍi and others, until he was finally appointed representative of the emperor in the Pāndya country. He was governor of the Madura country from 1533 to the end of Achyuta's reign (1542) when he gave place to another officer. There is nothing to show that he established the separate Nāyak kingdom of Madura; that came later and may have been the work of his son Krishnappa.

Achyuta Rāya was succeeded by his son Venkata I, but as he was not yet of age, his maternal uncle Salakarāju Tirumala became regent despite the opposition of the nobles. The queen-mother, Varadādevi, suspected her brother's motives and sought the assistance of the Adil Khan; but Tirumala bought off the sultan when he was already on his way to Vijayanagar. As a counter-move Rāma Rāya now liberated Sadāśiva from prison at Gutti, proclaimed him emperor, and in his turn appealed to Bijapur for aid. Nothing loth, the Adil Khan invaded Vijayanagar, but Tirumala, who had been proclaimed king by the bewildered citizens of the capital, inflicted such a defeat on the Shah that he had to turn back. Tirumala's next step to clear his path of all rivals was to cause Venkata I and all the members of the royal family to be assassinated. Thereafter the tyranny became so intolerable that the nobles once again invited the Bijapur sultan to come to their rescue. He came, but his overweening pride aroused hatred all round, and he went back in fear of his own safety. Rāma Rāya moved at last to seize the kingdom in the name of Sadāśiva; he captured Penugonda, defeated Tirumala in a series of battles,

put him to the sword in a final engagement on the banks of the Tungabhadra and then proceeded to Vijayanagar to perform the coronation of Sadāśiva (1543).

For the first seven or eight years after his coronation Sadāśiva was the only king; but the real power was always in Rāma Rāya's hands and in due course Rāma Rāya assumed the royal titles. Sadāśiva was kept under close guard, although Rāma Rāya and his brothers Tirumala and Venkatādri 'went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token of his rights over them'.

Ferishta says that Rāma Rāya destroyed many of the ancient nobility and raised his own family to the highest rank, a point which is confirmed by the evidence of other writers and of the inscriptions. Rāma Rāya also began to admit large numbers of Muslims into the army, a practice that had, indeed, been started in a small way by Devarāya I. No important offices at that time had been entrusted to them, but Rāma Rāya departed from this prudent policy employing Muslims in places which gave them an intimate knowledge of the internal affairs of the state. Further, he made it a point to avail himself of every opportunity of interfering in the relations between the Muslim states of Deccan and playing them off one against another, hoping thus to keep them weak and to increase his own power. The Muslim rulers, needless to say, saw clearly what was happening and closed their ranks; and Rāma Rāya paid heavily for his miscalculations. His policy opened the direct road to the disaster of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

Soon after Sadāśiva's coronation, Rāma Rāya was once again called away to the south. His opponents, who could not bear to see him established at the head of the state, sought to defy his authority and created confusion in the land to the south of Chandragiri, which was under their control. In the extreme south, the rulers of the Travancore country were once more in revolt, actually driving out the chieftain of Kayattār, the Pāndya feudatory of the empire. The Roman Catholic missionaries, headed by St Francis Xavier, were not only converting to their faith large numbers on the pearl-fishery coast of the Gulf of Mannar, but induced the fishermen to transfer their allegiance to the king of Portugal on the grounds that they could thereby escape from the rapacity of the Muslim traders and the oppression of the Hindu

governors from which they had been suffering for many years. The Franciscan friars and Jesuits were busy demolishing temples and building churches in the coastal cities, and the Portuguese governor of Goa was reported to be organizing a plundering raid against the rich temples of Kānchipuram. The presence of many petty local rulers, their mutual jealousies and negotiations with the Portuguese further complicated a tangled situation.

At this juncture Rāma Rāya ordered his cousin China Timma to lead a large army south and evolve order out of this chaos. Chandragiri was first wrested from the rebels; then the Chola country was entered and the fort of Bhuvanagiri stormed. Marching thence along the coast and crossing the Kaveri, the expedition reached the port of Nagore where a temple of Ranganātha which had suffered ruin at the hands of the Catholics was restored; and the local chiefs of Tanjore and the Pudukkōṭṭai territory were reduced to subjection and arrears of tribute taken from them. Farther south still, the displaced Pāndya was restored to his kingdom and the pride of Bettumperumal, the chief of Kayattār and Tuticorin, crushed. The forces of the 'Five Tiruvaḍis' of Travancore were met at Tovala Pass, beaten and dispersed; the rest of Travancore was invaded and its defeated ruler ('Iniquitibirim') was received into favour and set to rule over much of the territory that had earlier been his. China Timma worshipped at the shrine of Padmanābha at Trivandrum, set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin and then returned to the capital leaving his brother Vitthala, who had rendered yeoman service throughout the campaign, in charge of the conquered territory.

With the Portuguese, Rāma Rāya's relations were by no means always friendly, and the advent of Martin Affonso de Sousa as governor of Goa in 1542 brought about a change for the worse. He attacked and plundered the port of Bhatkal soon after he came to Goa, and his activities on the Coromandel Coast have been noticed above. With his successor, Joao de Castro, Rāma Rāya concluded a treaty in 1547 by which he secured the monopoly of the horse trade. There followed some years of friendship and peace until, in 1558, Rāma Rāya made a sudden attack on San Thomé. He had received complaints of the destruction of temples by Roman Catholic monks and, being persuaded that the inhabitants were possessed of vast riches, he thought he could both defend his religion and refill his treasury at one stroke. He

demanded a tribute of 1,00,000 pagodas, half to be paid immediately and the rest a year later, for which five hostages were taken from among the chief citizens. At about the same time, to prevent help reaching San Thomé, Goa also was attacked by Vitthalarāya, Rāma Rāya's cousin, aided by the Ikkeri chieftain Sankanna Nāyaka. In spite of these setbacks, the Portuguese continued their depredations along the Malabar coast in the succeeding years.

We must now turn to the details of Rāma Rāya's relations with the Muslim states and to the train of events that led to the decisive battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota) to which passing reference has already been made. In 1542-3, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar made up their differences and agreed that the former was to have a free hand against Vijayanagar, and the latter against Bidar. Ibrahim Adil Shah then invaded Vijayanagar, but gained nothing as his forces were turned back by the generalship of the Keladi chief Sadāśiva Nāyaka. In 1548 Rāma Rāya aided Burhan Nizam Shah in the capture of the fort of Kalyāni from Bidar, and the fort remained in Burhan's possession till his death in 1553. His son, Husain Nizam Shah, entered into an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda, renewed the war with Bijapur and laid siege to Gulbarga in 1557. Ibrahim Adil Shah called on Rāma Rāya for help and he promptly responded by marching in person at the head of his army. Anxious to avoid bloodshed, Rāma Rāya brought about a meeting of all the parties at the junction of the Bhima and Krishna rivers which resulted in a treaty of mutual alliance and protection by which, if any one of the contending parties became the victim of an unjust attack, the others were to join him against the aggressor—a plan of collective security as it would now be called.

Ibrahim Adil Shah died soon after this meeting of the four kings and was succeeded by his young son Ali Adil Shah. An unusual step was taken by Ali to cement his friendly relations with Vijayanagar, says Ferishta. Rāma Rāya lost a son about this time, and Ali went to Vijayanagar to offer his condolence in person. He was received with the greatest respect, and Rāma Rāya's wife adopted the sultan as her son. When, however, Ali took his leave after a stay of three days, Rāma Rāya failed to attend him out of the city, and Ali 'treasured up the affront in his mind'. Rāma Rāya, perhaps, on his part felt that the fortunes of Bijapur must

have sunk rather low that its sultan should so far humble himself to secure his friendship.

The first of the high contracting parties to disregard the Four Kings' Peace was Husain Nizam Shah who invaded Bijapur in 1560. Ali fled to Vijayanagar and implored the assistance of Rāma Rāya, who responded to the appeal and also called upon Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda to fulfil his part according to the treaty. He did so with reluctance, but at the approach of the combined forces, the Nizam Shah retreated into his dominions and made over the defence of Kalyāni to one of his Hindu officers, Bhopal Raj. The allied army left behind a division of its forces to invest Kalyāni and pressed on to Ahmadnagar. The Nizam Shah was beaten in a battle at Jamkhed, and the fleeing sultan pursued up to Daulatabad. He then realized the futility of further resistance and made peace by surrendering Kalyāni to Ali Adil Shah, who thus had good reason to be grateful to Rāma Rāya. After this, Rāma Rāya invaded Bidar and inflicted a defeat on the Barid Shah, who had thenceforth to take part in Rāma Rāya's wars against his enemies.

As Rāma Rāya's career began with a short period of service in the Qutb Shahi court of Golconda, he had a first-hand knowledge of the internal conditions of that kingdom, and had friends among the nobles of that court. With Ibrahim Qutb Shah his relations were at first friendly as he had received him with favour when he fled to Vijayanagar from his brother's wrath and helped him to gain the throne when that brother died (1550). But gradually their conflicting interests drove them apart, and Ibrahim co-operated in the war against Ahmadnagar only in a half-hearted manner. Later, he openly allied himself with Ahmadnagar, went against Bijapur and laid siege to Kalyāni. Rāma Rāya went to the relief of the fortress and ordered at the same time an invasion of the southern districts of the Golconda kingdom led by his brother Venkatādri. Thereupon the allied sultans retreated from Kalyāni; Rāma Rāya pursued the Nizam Shah while the Bijapur troops chased the Qutb Shah. Ahmadnagar was besieged a second time by Vijayanagar forces, but now without success as the flooding of the adjacent river compelled the invading army to retire with losses. Ibrahim Qutb Shah was defeated in battle, and reached his capital with difficulty, where he found everything in disorder owing to Venkatādri's invasion. Soon Rāma Rāya also returned from Ahmadnagar and marched towards Golconda. Ibrahim

sought to divert him by attacking Kondavidu, but met with no success, being once more beaten in the field. His country was thus devastated and the principal forts captured by the enemy. In the end he had to purchase peace by surrendering the forts of Kovilkonda, Ganpura and Pangal (c. 1563). The war widened the breach between Golconda and Vijayanagar, and Ibrahim became more than ever determined to destroy the Hindu power which had become a source of repeated humiliation to its Muslim neighbours in the north, even their ambassadors not being received properly.

The Muslim rulers saw clearly that their disunion gave the advantage to Rāma Rāya. Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who had suffered most, perhaps took the lead in the formation of the confederacy against Vijayanagar. Ferishta avers that the excesses committed by the Hindu forces against the Muslim population and sacred places in their invasions of Ahmadnagar and Golconda had no small share in rousing feeling against Rāma Rāya. Accordingly embassies passed to and fro among the sultans, their differences were made up, and steps taken to form a general league of the faithful against the Hindu monarch. Dynastic marriages cemented the political alliance between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur—Ali Adil Shah marrying Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, and Husain's eldest son marrying one of Ali's sisters at the same time. Soon after the marriages, preparations began for the holy war. Hindu sources generally speak of all the five sultans as the opponents of Rāma Rāya, though Muslim historians leave the sultan of Berar out of account. Ali Adil Shah clearly played a double game throughout, professing friendship with both the parties. The Muslim armies met on the plains of Bijapur and began their march to the south towards the end of 1564.

Rāma Rāya knew that the decisive trial of strength was to begin soon, and, on *Vijayadaśami* day (15 September 1564), he informed the nobles of the impending war and ordered them to gather together all their available strength without delay. Though little reliance can be placed on the large figures given by several writers, there is no doubt that very large numbers of troops were engaged on both sides. The Muslims reached Talikota, a small fortress-town in the neighbourhood of the Krishna river, on 26 December 1564. Rāma Rāya faced the situation with the utmost confidence. He first sent his brother Tirumala with a considerable force of all

arms to guard the Krishna and prevent the enemy from crossing it. Then he sent up his other brother, Venkatādri, and finally himself came up with the rest of the forces of the empire. The Hindu camp was on the south side of the Krishna, while the Muslims occupied both banks. Several partisan accounts have been written of the antecedents of the decisive engagement and of that engagement itself, but it is by no means easy to reconstruct the exact course of events. The actual field of battle was on the south bank of the Krishna; but as the two villages of Rakshasi and Tangadi, ten miles apart on its north bank, lie much nearer the field than Talikota, some historians refer to the battle as Rakshasi-Tangadi rather than Talikota.

The rival armies were opposing each other for over a month, during which there were preliminary trials of strength. In one of these the Nizam Shah and the Qutb Shah sustained a severe defeat, and felt the need to resort to a stratagem. They gave out that they intended to make peace with the powerful Rāya and even started negotiations; at the same time they secured the firm adherence of Ali Adil Shah to their cause by remonstrating with him, and possibly also entered into communication with the Muslim officers in Rāma Rāya's army. When everything was ready, the main body of the Muslim army crossed the river by means of a feint which drew off the Hindu forces guarding the ford, and proceeded to attack the Hindu camp. Rāma Rāya, though surprised, was able to organize the defence. In the decisive engagement that followed —the day was Tuesday, 23 January 1565, according to Sewell and Ferishta—Rāma Rāya and his two brothers all took part. In spite of his age Rāma Rāya insisted on directing operations from a litter. He held command of the centre and was opposed by Husain Nizam Shah; his left, under his brother Tirumala, was opposed by the Bijapur forces under Ali; and his right, under Venkatādri, opposed the sultans of Ahmadabad-Bidar and Golconda. At first the Hindus fought with success and nearly won the battle; but the issue was decided by the desertion of two Muslim commanders of Rāma Rāya's army, each in charge of seventy to eighty thousand men. Says Caesar Frederick: 'And when the armies were joined, the battle lasted but a while, not the space of four hours, because the two traitorous captains in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that astonished they set themselves to flight.'

Rāma Rāya fell prisoner into the hands of the Nizam Shah who immediately decapitated him and had his head raised on a spear for the Hindu troops to see. Above a hundred thousand were slain in the pursuit that followed. There was great confusion and no attempt was made to take up a fresh position or organize the defence of the capital. The road to the great city lay open; first to enter it were the dejected soldiers and princes from the field bringing the bad news; but Tirumala made good his escape with all the treasures of the emperor loaded on to one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants. He left the city and its inhabitants to their fate, taking with him only the captive emperor Sadāśiva and the women of the royal family.

The victorious army was preceded by hordes of robbers and jungle-folk who fell upon the helpless people and looted their houses and shops. 'With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought suddenly, on so splendid a city, teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.' Vijayanagar never recovered from the blow, and the attempt made by Tirumala shortly afterwards to revive the city appears to have met with only indifferent success.

He took up his abode in Penugonda and began rebuilding an army by all possible means; in his dire need, he is said to have taken several horses from Portuguese merchants and refused to pay for them. He gave up Vijayanagar partly because opinion in that city favoured the claims of Rāma Rāya's son Peda Tirumala, *alias* Timma, for the regency. Six years of anarchy and confusion intervened before Tirumala actually became king. Rāma Rāya's evil policy of breaking up the trained civil service for the sake of promoting relatives now added to the troubles of the realm in the crisis; there were rebellions everywhere; crime increased and the tyranny of *pālayagars* and dacoits also grew apace. The effective independence of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee may be traced to this period.

Even from so great a disaster as this defeat, Peda Tirumala seems to have been able to learn nothing; he invoked the aid of Ali Adil Shah against his uncle. The sultan first marched to

Vijayanagar, and thence sent an army to lay siege to Penugonda; but the fort held its own under its able general Savaram Chennapa Nayaka, and Tirumala in his turn appealed to the Nizam Shah who invaded Bijapur and brought about the retreat of the Adil Shah from Vijayanagar (1567). Soon Tirumala was called upon to join the Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah against Bijapur and did so; but the Adil Shah made peace with his Muslim neighbours, and fell upon Tirumala and invaded his territory with all his strength in 1568, laid siege to Adoni and dispatched a force against Penugonda to prevent any relief going to Adoni. Penugonda again put up a successful resistance, but Adoni fell.

Yet Tirumala seems somehow to have held the bulk of the empire together: he tacitly approved the new status of the Nayaks of the south and made them his friends. The Vodeyars of Mysore and the Nayaks of Vellore and Keladi still owned allegiance as before. He set up each of his three sons as viceroy over a linguistic area for general control and supervision: Šriranga, the eldest, over the Telugu area with Penugonda as his capital; Rāma, his second son, over the Kannada country, to rule from Šrirangapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest, to rule over the Tamil country from Chandragiri. He assumed the title 'Reviver of the Decadent Karnātaka Empire' and had himself crowned emperor in 1570. But he was already an old man, and seems to have retired after a short rule, and been succeeded by Šriranga in 1572. Tirumala's work restored the empire, though in a truncated form, and prolonged its life for about a century.

The fate of Sadāśiva is uncertain. Caesar Frederick heard in 1567 that he was assassinated by one of Tirumala's sons, but this may only have been scandal spread against the new ruling house of Aravidu by its enemies. It seems as probable that Sadāśiva, being a docile prince whom no one would have troubled to kill, may have languished in prison until he died in natural death. His name occurs in inscriptions till 1576.

Šriranga I began to rule in 1572 though his father continued to live in retirement for some six years longer. He carried on the work of restoration, but there were many obstacles in his way. In addition, two of his Muslim neighbours continued their invasions, resulting in loss of territory. In 1576, Ali Adil Shah sent out an army from Adoni to lay siege to Penugonda. Šriranga entrusted the defence of his capital to his able general Chennapa and went

off to Chandragiri with the treasures. Penugonda stood a three months' siege, which gave Śriranga time to appeal successfully for help to Golconda and he himself took steps to send relief to Chennapa. He bought over one of the Adil Shah's Hindu lieutenants and thus enabled Chennapa to inflict a defeat on the sultan on 21 December 1576, after which he retired into his own territory. But within three years, Ibrahim Qutb Shah forgot his recent alliance with Śriranga and invaded his territory: quite likely he was in league with some of the discontented nobles of Vijayanagar and chose his opportunity for aggrandizement. The rich temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was plundered in 1579 by Murhari Rao, a Maratha Brahmin in the service of Golconda, and much territory was captured and ravaged although it was later recovered.

The Golconda ruler returned to the charge and invaded the Kondavidu territory. There were struggles round the forts of Vinukonda, Kondavidu and Udayagiri, and though inscriptions say that Śriranga took these forts, the truth seems to be that Ibrahim gained considerable success and took much territory from Vijayanagar on this occasion which the Hindu empire never recovered. Śriranga's failure was due to the virtual division of the empire which limited the resources at his command, since his brothers gave him little aid. The dissensions among the nobles, which led to many petty fights and wars and intrigues with the enemy, weakened the defence still further. When Śriranga died without issue in 1585, his younger brother Venkata succeeded him, superseding the two sons of his elder brother Rāma who had been viceroy of Śrirangapattana under Tirumala. These two boys were young at a time when strong rule was needed. The nobles, therefore, headed by Jagga-devarāya, chose Venkata to rule, and he fulfilled their expectations in an ample measure. He celebrated his coronation in 1585-6 and his reign of twenty-eight years was marked by a revival of strength and prosperity in the empire. He dealt successfully with the perennial trouble from the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, controlled the internal disorders effectively, and promoted the economic revival of the country.

Venkata's first act was an effort to get back the territory lost to Golconda by his predecessor. In that kingdom, Ibrahim had been succeeded at his death in 1580 by his son Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Venkata stirred up trouble against him in the Kondavidu

territory, and Quli retaliated effectively by seizing the whole of Kurnool and parts of the Cuddapah and Anantapur districts, and by marching on and laying siege to Penugonda itself. Venkata thereupon sued for a truce, and the sultan, satisfied with the results attained, retired from the vicinity of Penugonda. Venkata made good use of the respite thus gained, and in a few days equipped the city to stand a long siege, and once more began to defy the Muslims. Sultan Quli discovered his mistake when he renewed the siege; he was defeated; and the approach of the rains, with the prospect of floods in the Krishna cutting off his retreat, forced him to raise the siege and go back, after making some hasty arrangements for the administration of the territory newly taken by him. But Venkata soon recaptured Gutti and then laid siege to Gandikota; he intercepted and scattered the forces sent to its relief from Kondavidu, while another Golconda army, led by Rustam Khan, was defeated and cut to pieces on the banks of the Penner, and Gandikota fell. This was followed by the seizure of other forts, and the Golconda garrisons were chased across the Krishna which later came to be recognized officially by Quli as the boundary of Vijayanagar. Farther east, Udayagiri became part of Venkata's dominions before 1589, but the Kondavidu territory was still the sultan's. Internal troubles prevented the completion of Venkata's designs against Golconda.

His accession brought about no change in the quarrelsome ways of the nobles, and much of his time and energy was taken up with calling them to order. For instance, Tammaya Gauda rebelled in the Kolar region; he was soon quelled and tribute levied from him. A more serious revolt, however, occurred in Rāyalasima, or the Ceded Districts, to give them their modern name. In 1597-8, Nandela Krishnamarāya and a number of other chieftains defied imperial authority; Krishnama was defeated in a battle at Jambulamadugu and shut himself in the fort of Nandela (Nandyal). Venkata invested it for three months, after which Krishnama surrendered, to spend the rest of his life in prison in Chandragiri. Kandanavōlu Gōpālarāju, the grandson of Venkatapati, the brother of Rāma Rāya, and other rebels, were dealt with suitably at the same time with the aid of loyal lieutenants who were adequately rewarded from the rebels' estates after they had been put down. There were troubles also in the Tamil country where Lingama Nāyaka of Vellore headed the revolt. Yāchama Nāyudu, son of

Velugōti Kastūri Rangappa, was set up in the *amaram* (fief) of Perumbedu *sīma* (Chingleput and Madurantakam taluqs) to act as a check on Lingama. Yāchama took the important stronghold of Uttiramerur from Nāga, a subordinate of Linga, who now summoned to his aid not only his own subordinates from the neighbouring fortresses, but the Nāyaks of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. They were not loath to aid in curbing the reviving power of the emperor. A huge army was collected and sent in May 1601 against Uttiramerur under the lead of Dāvula Pāpa Nāyudu, brother-in-law of Nāga. Nothing daunted, Yāchama took up the challenge, ably seconded by his younger brother Singa; in the battle that followed Pāpa was slain and the others fled or became captives. Yāchama's success was complete and was warmly recognized by the emperor. But Linga and his allies did not give in. Venkata defeated Linga near Vellore, advanced into the Chola country where he inflicted another defeat on the rebels, and crossing the Kaveri laid waste the lands of the Madura Nāyak. This series of victories broke the back of the Tamil rebellion, and all the rebels submitted, except Linga, who trusted to the strength of the fortress of Vellore. In due course this fortress also was taken and thereafter made the seat of the empire, while Linga was deprived of his estate.

Venkata did much to restore the prosperity of the villages in the northern districts which had suffered greatly from repeated Muslim inroads after 1565. Easy conditions of land tenure were offered to the farmers by the king and the nobles, who followed his example, so that the ryots returned to their wonted occupation. He also strove to sustain the failing strength of the village assemblies, and to administer impartial justice. Venkata's rule of nearly thirty years undoubtedly saved the empire from imminent dissolution. He died in 1614 after nominating Śrīranga, his nephew, as his successor.

It was during the reign of Venkata that the Dutch and the English began to establish themselves on the east coast. In 1605 the Dutch opened negotiations with Golconda and established factories in Nizampatam and Masulipatam. They soon felt the need for 'a footing in the Hindu territory further south in order to obtain the patterned goods demanded so largely in the spice-markets'. In 1608, therefore, they got permission from the Nāyak of Gingee to open a factory at Tegnapatam (Fort St David), and

two years later Venkata allowed them to have a factory at Pulicat with exclusive privileges of trade. Pulicat was open to attack from the Portuguese at San Thomé, and when the Queen of Venkata delayed building a fortress for its protection, the Dutch completed the fortress at their own cost—a step which stood them in good stead in the period of civil war and confusion that followed the death of Venkata. The English made a futile attempt to land at Pulicat in 1611, but succeeded soon after in opening trade at Nizampatam and Masulipatam. Their negotiations with Vellore had led to no result at the time of Venkata's death; they were admitted to trade in Pulicat in 1621 by a treaty with the Dutch, but the English factory moved soon after, first to Armagon a short distance to the north, and ultimately to Madras (1639-40). The Danes settled at Tranquebar in 1620.

Although Venkata II had several wives he had no son. His love for one of them made him wink at a fraud she practised on him of borrowing a baby from one of her maids and calling him her own. Hoping to stop the mischief from going further, Venkata nominated Śrīranga to the succession. But the presence of the putative 'son' was a complication, and Śrīranga was no paragon of strength or wisdom. He alienated the sympathies of the nobles by making injudicious appointments and avaricious demands for lands, money and jewels. The nobles fell into two camps: the son's party headed by Gobbūri Jagga Rāya, the brother of Venkata's favourite queen; and Śrīranga supported by Velugōti Yāchama Nāyaka. With the co-operation of Timma Nāyaka and Makarāja, two of his lieutenants, Jagga Rāya seized and threw Śrīranga and all the members of his family into prison, crowned the putative 'son' as emperor, and persuaded some of the nobles to do him homage. Yāchama defied Jagga Rāya and gathered forces to rescue the lawful emperor; he also had prince Rāma, Śrīranga's second son, smuggled out of the prison by a washerman. An attempt to rescue Śrīranga by means of an underground tunnel, however, was discovered and led to stricter incarceration. Yāchama made yet another effort to rescue the emperor and his family. He took advantage of Jagga Rāya's absence to arrange with a captain of Vellore fort, one Ite Obalesa, to slay the guards. On hearing that they were dead, Yāchama was supposed to come and take possession of the fort. Unfortunately the news reached Jagga first, and he returned before Yāchama had time to strike. Śrīranga and his whole

family were killed within four months of his accession, as the only certain way of preventing all future intrigues for their rescue and restoration.

The massacre of the royal family sent a thrill of horror through the kingdom, and Jagga Rāya and his partisans came to be deeply hated. Sympathy grew for Rāmadeva, the sole survivor of the family. He owed his survival to the forethought of Yāchama, who now proclaimed him emperor, and there ensued a long-drawn out civil war in which the whole empire took part. Yāchama defeated Jagga Rāya in battle and forced him to flee to the jungles for refuge. The Gobbūri estates in the south-west of the Nellore district were captured. But, nothing daunted, Jagga became active again, and secured the support of Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka of Madura and Krishnappa Nāyaka of Gingee. Yāchama on his side paid a visit to Tanjore and secured the adherence of Raghunātha Nāyaka to Rāma's cause. Yāchama and his allies gathered their forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly; Yāchama led his army from Vellore in that direction and was joined by Raghunātha's forces on the way. The decisive engagement took place at Topur, a village near the Grand Anicut. Jagga Rāya fell in the battle with many of his lieutenants, his army broke up and fled, and Yāchama's victory was complete (1616). The putative son of Venkata, the cause of all the trouble, was captured, and Krishnappa Nāyaka lost all his forts except Gingee; his subsequent attempt to recover them only resulted in another defeat followed by captivity. The war was kept on by Etirāja, Jagga Rāya's younger brother, and by differences among the Nāyaks. The death of the putative son in 1619, followed by reconciliation between Rāmadeva and Etirāja, whose daughter he married, put an end to the war and brought about the recognition of Rāma in Karnātaka, though the Madura Nāyak went his own way. Etirāja now stood by his son-in-law, as did Raghunātha Nāyaka who helped to restore the imperial authority over contumacious vassals. The reconciliation of Rāma with Etirāja estranged Yāchama, however, who had longed to confiscate all the Gobbūri lands, including Pulicat and its surroundings, which belonged to Etirāja himself. After much local fighting Rāmadeva's authority came to count for something in the remnants of the empire by about 1629, and the Nāyak of Gingee gave up his hostile attitude and became a friendly vassal. Even Yāchama's partisans were subdued and Pulicat and its environs firmly secured

for Etirāja and the empire. Thus the struggle of a decade and a half ended in a tolerable measure of success for Rāma.

But the civil war had given Bijapur its opportunity. The sultan at last realized his ambition of capturing the western Telugu country. In 1619-20 he sent Abdul Wahab Khan against Kurnool where Gōpālarāja offered stout resistance in which he was aided by Golconda; Abdul Wahab Khan was defeated and forced to make peace. But this was only a truce, for in 1624 he came back and attacked Kurnool once more. Gōpālarāja was now aided by his friends in the neighbourhood; but the Bijapur forces won the battle that followed, and Gōpālarāja abandoned the fort and fled. Rāma was too preoccupied to intervene. His death in 1630 at an early age of twenty-eight set the seal on the Muslim conquest of Kurnool which passed to Bijapur for good.

With no son or brother, Rāma had nominated his cousin, Peda Venkata, a grandson of the great Rāma Rāya, to succeed to the throne; but Timma Rāja, a paternal uncle of Rāma, thought he had a better claim, and seized the government, compelling Venkata III to remain at his native place Anegondi. Gingee, Tanjore and Madura declared for Venkata, and Timma got no support and was generally looked upon as a usurper. He was nevertheless able to make trouble, and civil strife continued till his death in 1635. In the early stages he gained some successes, but prince Śrīranga, son of Chennai Venkata, the younger brother of Venkata III, took the field on behalf of his uncle. With help from the Dutch at Pulicat, he beat Timma and compelled him to accept Venkata's claim to the throne. He was, however, allowed to retain some of the places he had captured; but when he again stirred up trouble, the Nāyak of Gingee defeated and slew him in 1635. Peace was thus restored. Venkata went and lived in Vellore, entrusting the defence of Penugonda (once again threatened by the sultan of Bijapur) to Kondi Nāyaka who managed to keep it secure till the dissolution of the empire some fifteen years later.

Thinking he was too friendly with the Nāyak of Gingee, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura plotted to seize Venkata. They failed and war began in 1637 but was soon ended by a patched-up peace. For reasons that are not clear, Śrīranga, once so loyal to his uncle, turned against him and actually engineered two invasions from Bijapur in 1638 and 1641. On the first occasion the sultan's forces invested Bangalore, and Venkata had to buy peace at the

cost of a large indemnity early in 1639. Later in the year, with the help of troops sent by the southern Nāyaks, he gained a moderate success which put a temporary check on Muslim inroads. The invasion of 1641 was led by Randhula Khan who was joined by Śrīranga; they marched upon Vellore after capturing some forts on the way, and pitched their camp within twelve miles of the capital. Once more aid from the Nāyaks saved Vellore for a while.

Watching the course of events in the Carnatic, the sultan of Golconda sent an army from the east along the coast in April 1642 to capture as much territory as possible from the Hindu empires, which was now in the last stages of dissolution. Velugōti Timma, lord of Armagon in the extreme south of Nellore, and Dāmerla Venkata, ruler of Madras and Poonamallee, offered resistance, but it was not effective. Venkata III himself retired to the jungles near Nārāyanavanam in the Chittoor district where he died in a helpless condition on 10 October 1641.

Venkata III had no children and was succeeded by his treacherous nephew Śrīranga III. When he learnt that Venkata lay dying on the hills, Śrīranga deserted the Bijapur general and put himself forward as the defender of his ancestral kingdom and made himself king on the 29 October 1642. But he was by no means equal to undoing as king the mischief he had started as rebel; and many of the nobles—like Dāmerla Venkata and Krishnappa Nāyaka of Gingee—were against him. For a time, however, jealousy among the Muslim states appeared to give Śrīranga a chance, and the aid of Bijapur in January 1644 enabled him to check the advance of Golconda beyond Udayagiri for a time. He now felt strong enough to demand and collect large sums of money from the southern Nāyaks, part of which he paid over to Bijapur as the price of its help. Madura and Gingee soon rose again in rebellion, and another Golconda invasion reached Pulicat without opposition and was only repulsed by the Dutch commandant of the fort. To stop the Nāyak of Gingee from joining the Golconda army, Śrīranga made peace with him; he even gained a success against Golconda and pursued the invading army up to Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. When Bijapur and Golconda reached an understanding, Śrīranga was unable to face their combined forces, and had to retire. The Golconda general, Mir Jumla, was preparing to advance by way of Kurnool, when the sultan of Golconda suddenly countermanded the war and compensated

Bijapur, perhaps as the result of an understanding with Śrīranga. The danger of invasion ceased for a while until the southern Nāyaks with Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura at their head rebelled and appealed to Bijapur which sent Mustafa Khan against Vellore. Śrīranga, who had gone south to meet the Nāyak forces, had to hurry back to the defence of his capital. Golconda also struck at the same time in the direction of Vinukonda and Udayagiri. Utterly overwhelmed and helpless, Śrīranga made a last appeal to Hindu nationalism and exhorted his subjects to rally to the protection of the state, temples, Brahmins and religion. The ears of the Nāyaks were deaf to such appeals, and the great Mogul had asked Bijapur and Golconda to attack and partition the Carnatic between themselves. Defeated in battle by his own feudatory Nāyaks in December 1645, Śrīranga fell back on Vellore; pressure from Bijapur diminished for a time as the commanders went to Bijapur to settle disputes that had arisen among themselves; but Golconda was active and Mir Jumla came and occupied parts of Nellore and Cuddapah. Mustafa Khan of Bijapur came back and prepared to attack Vellore. Then the Nāyaks realized too late the danger that was threatening them all together. Even so Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura stood aloof. All other resources being spent, the jewels of the women of Vellore and the treasures of the Tirupati temple were used to maintain the defending forces. A slight success against Mustafa Khan won outside Vellore was not followed up by Śrīranga owing to dissensions among his allies who abandoned him and retired inside the fortress. Another big battle followed at Virinchipuram (4 April 1646) in which Śrīranga was again defeated despite aid from Mysore, Madura and Tanjore. Mustafa then besieged Vellore. Meanwhile Mir Jumla took all the territory in the east coast up to Pulicat; but the Dutch still refused to recognize Golconda for a while. Śrīranga finally had to abandon all resistance and seek refuge in Tanjore. Madura and Mysore were unable to ward off the Muslim conquest of the Carnatic which was completed by 1652. When Tanjore, like Gingee a little before, submitted to Bijapur in 1649, Śrīranga repaired to Mysore where he kept his court with the aid of the Keladi chiefs, dreaming of the reconquest of Vellore until death came to him as a relief some time about 1672.

The fall of the Carnatic was not the fall of the Hindu cause, however, for even as Bijapur was ravaging it and driving Śrīranga into

exile, Šivāji commenced his eventful career, and Šriranga did not come to his end till a little before Šivāji crowned himself Chatrapati (1674). Madura and Mysore continued as independent Hindu states well on into the eighteenth century.

Thus, nevertheless, ended the Karnātaka-Vijayanagar empire more than three centuries after its foundation. During that long period it had maintained a constant struggle against its Muslim neighbours on the north, destroyed the sultanate of Madura, and kept Southern India free from the inroads of Islam. True, we find Hindus in the service of Muslim rulers and Muslim troops engaged by the Hindu emperors of Vijayanagar. Diplomatic, and even dynastic alliances, also occurred often enough between these two continuously contending parties; but they do not alter the basic nature of the historic role of Vijayanagar, which was to preserve South India as the last refuge of the traditional culture and institutions of the country. The great commentary on the *Vedas* composed by a syndicate of scholars with Sāyaṇa at their head, and the impressive additions made to the structure of almost all important temples in the country by the rulers of Vijayanagar, form the most typical monuments of the work of the great Hindu empire. The Portuguese and Jesuits sought to Christianize the population, and to that extent they incurred the displeasure of the emperors and their feudatories, and their efforts in this direction were not allowed to proceed very far.

It now remains to say something on the political, administrative and military system of the empire before concluding the chapter. The empire was in theory a hereditary monarchy; but the times were hard, and the hostility of the Muslim states on the one side and the intransigence of feudatories on the other made it imperative that the king should be possessed of high attainments in diplomacy and war. No wonder that weak kings were either imprisoned or dethroned by able and ambitious ministers, and that there was a change of the ruling dynasty on three occasions as the result of usurpations in which the nobles of the court played their own parts and took sides with rival claimants. On the whole, however, political factions in Vijayanagar did not develop the rancour that marked the politics of the Bāhmanī court and of its successors; with rare exceptions, the leaders of the Hindu empire showed a readiness to recognize facts, and to prefer compromise, whenever possible, to open rebellion.

The king was advised by a council of ministers whom he often consulted; but he was not bound to accept their advice, and was free to follow his own bent or the counsel of individual favourites. Even the most powerful minister held his office at the pleasure of the king, and was liable to be degraded and summarily punished, as Sāluva Timma was punished by Krishnadeva Rāya when he was suspected of having procured the murder of the heir apparent.

It was customary for the emperor to have a plurality of wives and to maintain innumerable maids of honour to wait on them as well as on himself. They had well-appointed, separate apartments, and the maintenance of the harem was no small item in the expenditure of the palace. The royal princes were often employed in administrative offices suited to their capacity. A strong monarch like Krishnadeva Rāya imposed restrictions on the movements of those who might have any pretensions to the throne and kept them under surveillance.

The work of the central government was apportioned among a number of departments, and there was a well-organized secretariat with its office near the palace. There were two treasuries, a smaller one for current remittances and withdrawals, and a larger reserve to which every king made it a point to add something and of which Paes says, it 'is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by anyone' and is 'not opened except when the kings have great need'.

Crown lands, annual tributes from feudatories and provincial governors paid at the time of the *Mahānavami* festival, port and customs dues from the commerce passing through the numerous ports of the empire, formed the chief sources of revenue which was collected both in cash and in kind. The land was carefully surveyed and assessed according to its quality, the rates differing between wet and dry lands and in accordance with the crops and the yield. The proportion of produce claimed as revenue varied from the traditional sixth to as much as half the gross yield. The state often handed over to temples and learned Brahmins the privilege of enjoying its share of the land revenue in accordance with prescribed terms. Taxes on professions and houses, fees for licences of various kinds, transit and market dues and judicial fines were other sources from which the state got its money. Most of these taxes were farmed out to the highest bidder both in areas directly administered from the centre and in the provinces, and

the impression produced is that of high and even oppressive taxation.

The chief items of expenditure were the upkeep of the palace, the upkeep of the army, and charitable endowments. Krishnadeva Rāya laid down the theory that income should be divided into four equal parts: one quarter went to maintain the palace establishment and to charity, two went to the army, and the remaining quarter was deposited in the Reserve Treasury. Doubtless this was only the ideal, and practice depended entirely on current exigencies.

Vijayanagar was perhaps the nearest approach to a war-state ever made by a Hindu kingdom; and its political organization was dominated by its military needs. The emperor maintained a large standing army consisting of an elephant corps, cavalry and infantry; in this force, 'the soldiers receive their pay', noted Abdur Razzak, 'every four months, and no payment is ever made by a draft upon the revenues of any province'. In addition, military fiefs studded the whole length and breadth of the empire, each under a *nāyak* or military leader authorized to collect revenue and to administer a specified area provided he maintained an agreed number of elephants, horses, and troops ever ready to join the imperial forces in war. Nuniz counted more than two hundred such *nāyaks*. There were regular military schools where men were trained in archery, swordsmanship, and so on, and prepared for enlistment in the army; the artillery, however, seems generally to have been manned by foreigners. A military camp was a moving city, 'arranged in streets with many open spaces'. The number of non-combatant camp-followers was too large not to impede the troops, but this was a common feature of the times. Fortresses played a large part in the defence organization, and the arts of siege were well known and extensively practised. There must have been a navy of some sort for the Rāyas had the command of several ports and of parts of Ceylon; but we have no definite information on its strength or organization.

The details, of the organization of provincial government depended on the historical antecedents of each locality. In the extreme south and on the west coast, the older rulers of the land were allowed to carry on in a subordinate capacity, paying tribute and submitting to the general supervision of a high official of the empire, usually a prince of the blood-royal; such were the Pāndyas,

the Tiruvađis, and the chiefs of Gersoppa, Karkal and other places. In the Tamil districts the ancient Chola territorial divisions, together with the deeply-rooted system of autonomous village assemblies, were allowed to continue and no attempt was made to impose arrangements perfected by the Rāyas elsewhere in the Telugu and Kannada areas. The autonomy of villages, however, suffered considerable abridgement in this period as their officials came to be linked up more and more closely with the central government and its representatives. The names of divisions and offices differed with the locality; but everywhere the provincial governor appointed from the centre was more the military commander of a strategic fort than an ordinary civil servant of the crown. The boundaries of provinces, or *rājyas*, were changed from time to time to suit immediate administrative needs; and some territories, especially in the northern sections of the empire which constantly passed to and fro between Vijayanagar and its Muslim enemies, must have experienced many changes in their rule. These governors and *nāyaks* were allowed to rule their fiefs by deputy and therefore appointed and maintained their agents in the capital when they were not present in person. A regular system of espionage performed the duties of the modern intelligence service and kept the emperor informed of the doings of his subordinates all over the empire as well as of the designs and movements of neighbouring rulers. Captains of fortresses at the frontiers were generally very trustworthy men who were specially exempted from attendance at the capital.

The police system was fairly efficient, the rule being that when a theft occurred the property was recovered or made good by the police-officers. Wherever trouble was expected from jungle tribes, *pālayagars* were posted with a considerable body of retainers maintained from *jāgirs*—land assignments—set apart for the purpose. In towns the streets were patrolled regularly at nights, and the police arrangements of the capital were particularly efficient and received the commendation of foreign observers like Abdur Razzak.

Justice was administered by a hierarchy of courts, the emperor's *sabhā* being the highest appellate authority. Some of these courts appear to have been peripatetic, being held wherever the officers concerned were encamped. The *smriti* of Yājnavalkya and Mādhava's great commentary on Parāśara's code commanded

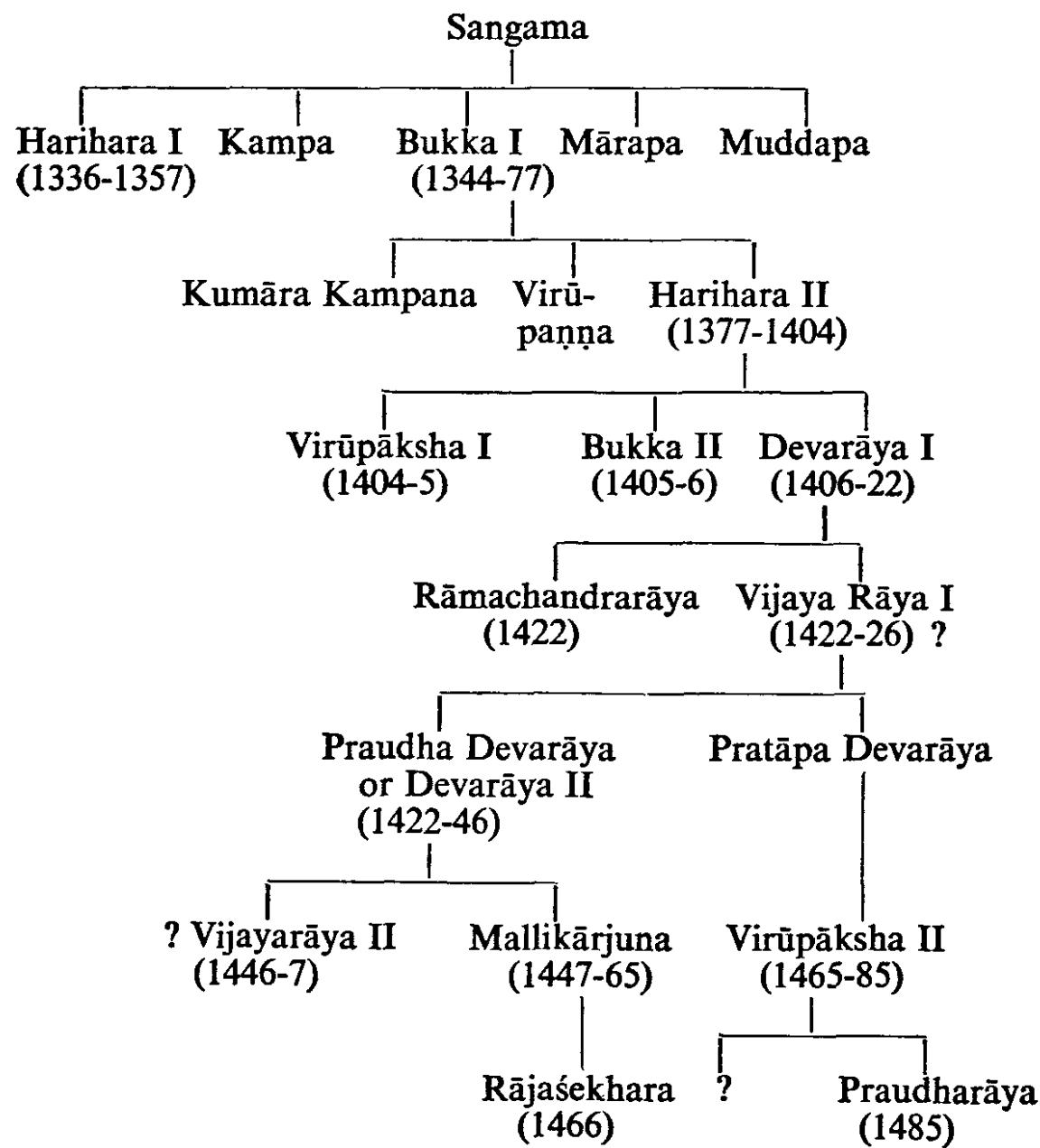
special authority in the decision of doubtful legal points. Minor offences and violation of caste and trade rules were dealt with in the first instance by village courts and caste and guild organizations, and perhaps seldom found their way to the courts of the crown. When human evidence failed trial by ordeal was not unknown. By modern standards punishments were harsh and even barbarous, including as they did, in extreme cases, mutilation, impalement, and being thrown to the elephants.

The emperors of Vijayanagar addressed themselves deliberately to the task of preserving the Hindu social and political order from being destroyed by Islam, and in this task they were eminently successful in spite of repeated reverses in the field of battle. That today South Indian society presents a striking contrast in many respects to society in North India, that South India is still adorned by a large number of great temples that enshrine the artistic achievements of successive generations of Hindu master-builders, and that the Hindu-Muslim 'problem' was virtually unknown in the South furnish some measure of the success that attended the efforts of Vijayanagar and its rulers.

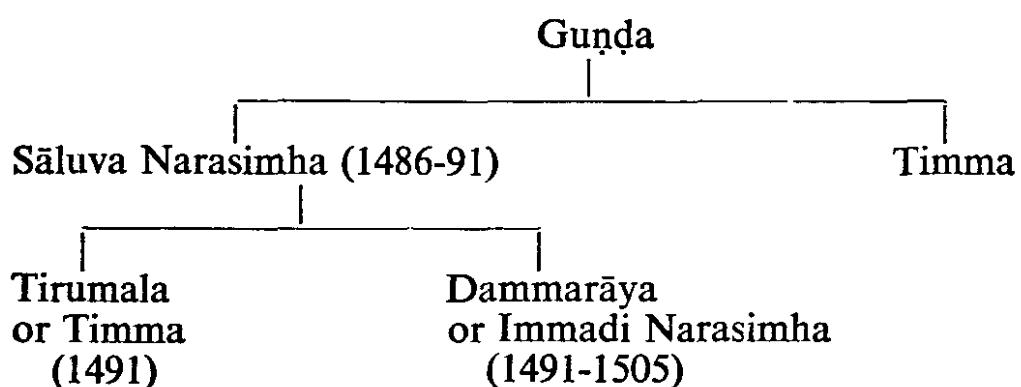
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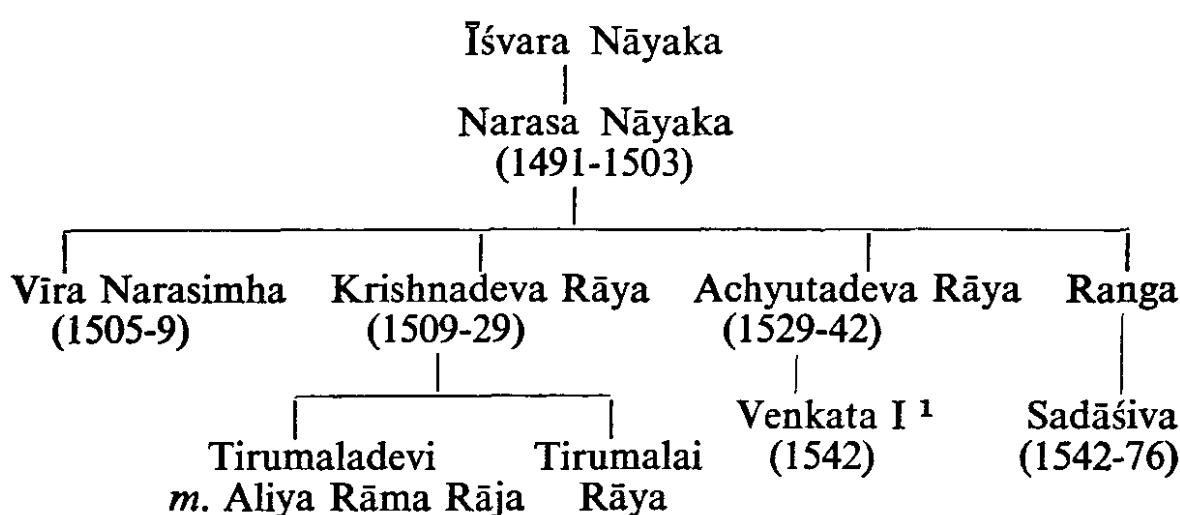
## I. SANGAMA DYNASTY



## II. SĀLUVA DYNASTY

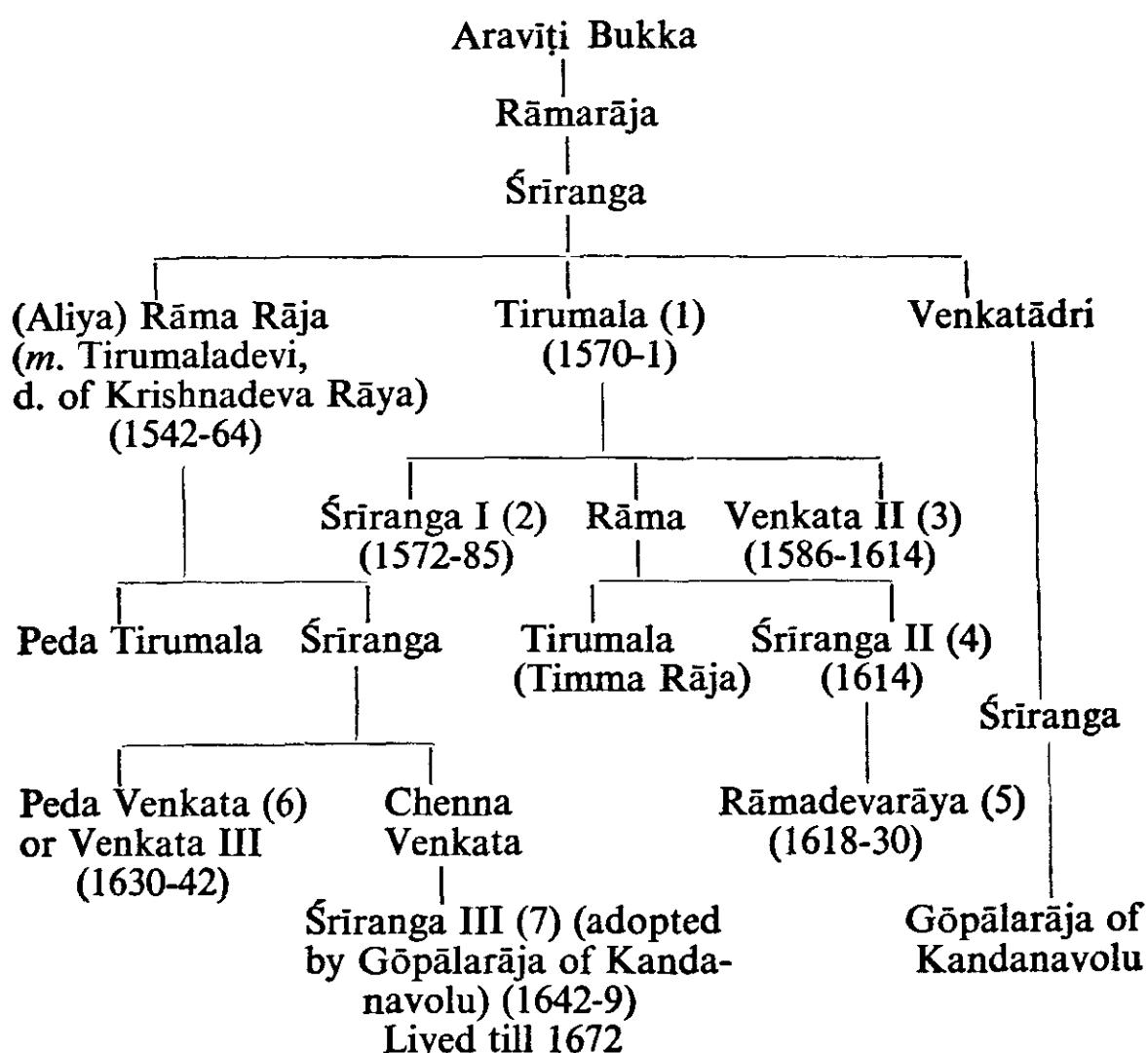


## III. TULUVA DYNASTY



<sup>1</sup> Assassinated by his maternal uncle Salākaraju Tirumala whose tyrannical rule for a few months intervened between the reigns of Venkata I and Sadāśiva.

## IV. ARAVĪDU DYNASTY



(N.B.—Arabic numerals enclosed within brackets by the side of names indicate the order of succession to the throne.)

# **SARDESAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME**

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As originally arranged, this Volume was to be presented to Rao Babadur G. S. Sardesai on the 17th May, 1938, his 73rd birthday. For some reasons the idea had to be postponed to this date. Many hands have made our work easy and we hereby thank them all. Our thanks are due to those learned professors and scholars in particular who kindly responded to our request and contributed papers for publication and also to the Publisher who kindly shouldered the responsibility.

Prarthana Samaj, }  
BOMBAY & }  
1st Oct., '38. }

B. V. Jadhav  
Chairman,  
Sardesai Memorial Committee

## THE LAST DAYS OF VIJAYANAGAR

BY

Prof. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

The reign of Venkatapati Deva Mahârâya (1586 to 1614 A. D.) marked the last flicker of the Vijayanagar Empire before it went out finally under his successors. He was not in the direct line of succession, but he was chosen deliberately 'by the unanimous vote of all the classes' – as a contemporary Jesuit letter puts it. There was need for a strong ruler, and even the nobles of the realm felt it. To curb the forces of disorder in the Empire and to combat the increasing insolence of the Muslim states of the Deccan, strong and vigorous leadership was required, and Venkata furnished this for nearly three decades. He brought the rebellious poligars under control and waged successful war against the Muhammadans, from whom he took back much of the territory that had been lost under his predecessor. In civil administration he strove to sustain the failing strength of the village assemblies, and to administer impartial justice and promote economic welfare by resuscitating agriculture which had suffered much from the inroads of Muslim armies. After him, however, came the deluge.

Venkata had many wives but no son. And his love for one of these ladies had led him to wink at a fraud she practised on him, borrowing a baby of one of her maids and calling him her own. Hoping to stop the mischief from going further, Venkata nominated a nephew of his, Srîranga, as his successor to the throne. But the presence of the putative son was a complication, and Srîranga was no paragon of strength or wisdom. The nobles fell into two camps; the party of the 'son' was headed by his maternal uncle Jagga Râya, who took Srîranga by surprise and imprisoned him with his family. When Yâcama Nayaka, the leader of the other party, succeeded in removing prince Râma, son of Srîranga from the prison, and began further to exert himself for the release of Srîranga, Jagga Râya answered by putting to death Srîranga together with the rest of his family still in prison.

But nothing daunted, Yâcama proclaimed Râmadeva Emperor, and shortly after Jagga Râya met his fate in the battle of Toppur, but the civil

war continued to disturb the peace of the country for long. The Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee had taken sides against Yācama and Rāma, and Jagga Rāya's brother Etirāja and his other allies were still at large. The death of the pretender, the so-called son of Venkāta, led to a peace which was not to Yācama's liking. Rāma married the daughter of Etirāja who thereupon went over to his side. But Yācama felt that Etirāja had not been punished adequately and had an eye on Pulicat which belonged to Etirāja: and the Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee now became jealous of Etirāja's influence at the Court, and kept up their opposition. And the European powers established in the ports, particularly the Portuguese and the Dutch, occasionally joined in the fray; and thus there was much sporadic fighting in various parts of the country. The kingdom of Vijayanagar, or rather Karnātaka as it now comes to be called, was but the shadow of a great name.

After a decade and a half of much struggle, Rāma and his father-in-law Etirāja, succeeded by about 1629 in restoring the semblance of imperial authority once more over a considerable part of the Empire. But much had been lost in the interval, and Kurnūl had been conquered permanently by Bijāpūr in 1624 after two invasions and a tough fight. Rāma died in 1630 at the early age of twenty.

Another disputed succession and civil strife followed. Rāma had nominated a cousin of his, Peda Venkāta, to the succession; but Rāma's uncle Timma Rāja, disputed his right and confined him to his native place Anegondi for a time. But the great Nāyaks of the South favoured Venkāta, who was also ably assisted by his nephew Śrīranga. Timma, however, ceased to be a source of trouble only with his death in 1635, after which date Venkāta, felt free to go and live in Vellore, the capital of the Empire at the time. But Venkāta had no peace. For reasons that are not clear to us, his nephew Śrīranga, once so loyal to him, now rebelled and actually engineered two invasions from Bijāpūr in 1638 and 1641; on the first occasion Venkāta bought off the enemy by surrendering large amounts of treasure, and the southern Nāyaks came to his aid in 1641. The Sultan of Golconda chose the occasion for laying hands on the coastal districts of the Telugu country. Venkāta died in the midst of defeat and disaster, a refugee in the forests of the Chittoor district, in October 1642.

Śrīranga, the rebel nephew of Venkāta, now became his successor. But as king he was not equal to undoing the mischief he had started as rebel. For a time jealousy among the Muslim states appeared to

provide Śrīranga a chance, and he repelled Golconda once in 1643-4 with the aid of Bijāpūr troops. But the turbulence of the Nāyaks, the persistence of Golkonda, and the formation of an alliance between Bijāpūr and Golkonda under the auspices of the Grand Mughal to partition the Karnāṭak Empire, led to the inevitable end. The armies of Bijāpūr and Golconda swept everything before them, and by 1648-9 Śrīranga was reduced to a penniless refugee in the courts of his feudatories who were reduced to submission one after another by the Bijāpūr forces. He fled from Vellore to Gingee, and from Gingee to Tanjore, and finally repaired to Mysore, where he kept up his court with the aid of the Keladi chiefs till death came to him as a relief sometime about 1675.

But the fall of Karnāṭaka was not the fall of the Hindu cause. For even as Bijāpūr was ravaging Karnāṭaka and driving Śrīranga into exile, Śivāji commenced his eventful career, and Śrīranga did not come to his end before Śivāji had been crowned as Chhatrapati.

In the foregoing sketch of the last fifty years of Vijayanagar history I have followed, besides the well-known indigenous sources, some indications given by contemporary Dutch records; and in the rest of this paper I shall cite and comment on the various treaties concluded during the period between the Dutch East India Company and the court of Karnāṭaka. These treaties will be seen mostly to concern the affairs of the important Dutch factory at Pulicat. The texts of the treaties will be found in Heeres-*Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum* Vol. I (1596-1650) which forms Vol. 57 (1907) of *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Landen Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indie*.

‘The foundation of Pulicat’, observes Moreland,<sup>1</sup> ‘possesses peculiar interest for students of commercial history, because it was the first fort in India to be held by the merchants of a European Company, and it led directly to Armagon and to Madras.’ The first charter relating to Pulicat was granted on the 24th April 1610 by Venkaṭapati Raya to Captain Arent Maertszoon.<sup>2</sup> It permitted the Dutch to build a stone house on some land given to them in Pulicat where they could store all ammunitions of war, anchors, sails, merchandise, etc., and protect them from fire, robbers and other mishaps; and to pay 2 % duty on all goods imported to and exported from Pulicat – a payment which was to be made only once on any set of goods and from which rice and other necessaries for use in the ‘house’ were to be exempt. The king was to forbid

1. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* pp. 228-9.

2. Heeres, xxxvii pp. 83-5.

the Portuguese to dwell or trade at Pulicat, and not to allow any European to trade without a permit from the Dutch. Neither side should raise any question or dispute on matters of religion. The king shall restore to the Dutch any man who having done wrong takes refuge with him or in his country. All the traders of the Dutch East India Company were to be free to trade without let or hindrance, and the Dutch Captain Resident in Pulicat for the time being was to have power to catch and to put in chains defaulting painters and weavers, and the king was to help them in this. The Dutch were to supply to the king at the earliest opportunity any European goods or war material he might want from Holland and at the prices prevailing for them in Holland. Trade was the primary object of the Dutch ; but they meant to run no risks, and even under Venkata II, a powerful monarch, they stipulated for freedom to organise their own defence and to be judges in their own cases against the industrial population of the country with whom they carried on business.

The express exclusion of the Portuguese from Pulicat only roused the hostility of this nation, long settled in St. Thome', against the new Dutch settlement, and after some unsuccessful attacks upon it, the Portuguese finally destroyed it on the 9th June 1612. The next charter to the Dutch from Venkata, dated 12th December 1612 and issued at Vellore was in fact rendered necessary by this mishap. It says in the preamble : 'As on the 9th June of this year, the Portuguese of St. Thome' razed to the ground the counting house at Pulicat, killed some people, and carried as prisoners to St. Thome', the senior merchant Adolf Thomasson and others, it has been necessary to conclude the following contract with the above mentioned king.' This charter,<sup>3</sup> negotiated by Wemmer van Berchem, Director of the Dutch possessions on the Coromandel coast, repeats all the terms of the old one, with one difference, viz., that the customs rate was to be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for imports and 2 per cent. for exports as against the uniform 2 per cent. of the earlier charter. The effects of the recent hostilities with the Portuguese are reflected in the terms of the charter. A regular fort in Pulicat had become a necessity, and it was stipulated that the king was to allow his queen Bayamma to complete at her cost the fort begun by her at Pulicat – afterwards the famous fort Geldria; the fort was to be under the protection of her people, but the Dutch were to have the use of one half of it, and the keys of the gates were to be handed over to them every evening, and the doors opened in the morning by two porters.

3. Heeres-xliii pp. 100-104. cf, Moreland *op. cit.* pp. 229-30.

together—one appointed by the Dutch and other by the queen. And the Dutch were to be free to pursue hostilities against the Portuguese in Pulicat, St. Thome' and all the ports and places in the king's territory, without any obstruction from his officers. The last clause in this agreement is of particular interest to us. It runs: 'And because the abovementioned Pulicat lies far from the king, it is hereby agreed, that besides him, we shall stand under the protection of Jagarāja who will in all difficulties and accidents protect us against all ill-wishers and enemies that should cause us trouble by violence or otherwise,—for which the above mentioned Jagarāja shall grant us a *cowle* for our security and peace.' Jagga Rāya was the brother of Bāyamma, the queen of Pulicat, and was chief minister at this time, and Berchem thought it worth his while to go to Kolar and get Jaga Rāja's *cowle* before he returned to Pulicat.<sup>4</sup>

All the European Companies trading in India learnt soon enough that the grant of the *de jure* sovereign of the country was worth nothing without the good will of the minister or governor who was the real power in his territory.

The treaty of December 1612 was not observed. The fort Geldria was completed at the cost of the Dutch Company and garrisoned by them in 1613, and to secure even this was no easy task. Then came Venkāta's death and the war of succession, in which Jagga Rāya died (1616). The next document in our collection<sup>5</sup> is an agreement between the Etirāja, the brother of Jagga Rāya, and the Dutch governor of Pulicat, and is dated 28th August, 1620. In it Gobbūri Etirāja (Gouber Interagie or Jttiragie) calls himself governor over 40 Hindu miles of territory, and states that he was on a visit to Pulicat, when he gave this letter of authority (brief van credentie) to the Dutch captain. He appoints Pedarāya his visitor at Pulicat, and requires him to govern the city as in the time of Bāyamma (Obayama). The Dutch were to carry on as usual, and Etirāja promises to protect them with all his might against enemies. The term of the contract is said to be three years in the preamble. It falls in the period following the alliance between Rāma and Etirāja mentioned above.

Differences seem to have arisen between Pedarāya and the Dutch, and evidence that these were eventually composed in an amicable manner

4. McLeod: *De oost Indische Compagnie*, i pp. 127-8.

5. lxviii pp. 158-60. Some words in this record are difficult to understand though the general sense is clear.

is furnished by a treaty of peace and perpetual alliance between Pedarāja and his friends on the one side and the Dutch governor of Coromandel on the other. The treaty is dated 19th August 1624.<sup>6</sup>

Rāmadeva, ably assisted by his father-in-law Etirāja, so far regained his control over his vassals and the kingdom by 1629, as to call to order the European Companies trading on the Coast. The Portuguese visited him first, as usual with complaints against the Dutch at Pulicat, and offered a considerable sum of money to induce the king to expel them. Ijsbrantsz, the Dutch governor of Pulicat at the time, sent Carel Reniers and Chinnana Chetti to meet the king at Tirutani where he lay encamped with a large army of 65,000 men. They met the king on the 26th October 1629, and among the presents offered were a young elephant, sandal, mirrors, white sugar, red lac, a Japanese box and so on. The king reported to them what the Portuguese of San Thome, "had told him and insisted on peace being observed in his territory and San Thome being left alone by the Dutch. At the same time, the king revived the levy of duties at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on imports and 2 per cent. on exports that Berchem had accepted in 1612, but had been allowed to fall into disuse in the confusion that followed when, Pulicat, in the strength of Fort Geldria, had been a law unto itself. Finally as a result of the Dutch Mission agreeing to give an undertaking to respect the king's peace, they were let off the tolls and were given a *cowle* excusing them from the payment of all customs duties on imports and exports at Pulicat.<sup>7</sup> The *cowle* is dated 14th November 1629.

As Rāmadeva died soon after, in May 1630, Ijsbrantsz sought and obtained confirmation of the privileges granted by him from his successor, and the brief charter is dated on the full moon day in October 1631.<sup>8</sup> The name of the king does not occur, but we may suppose it was Venkaṭa III, for we have another charter issued by him at the same time relating to the 'great śungam (groote sioncan van Palleacatta) of Pulicat.'<sup>9</sup> This *ola* is addressed to the Dutch governor and Malaya Chetti. It is short and mentions many facts otherwise unknown. It reads: "Before this Rāma Deva Rāya gave you the villages of Karungulī (Carongoer) and Perambūr (Perombeur), and I gave you Araśur (Aresour); in place of which three villages, I now give you the great great śungam (sionkan) of Pulicat,

6. Ixxx pp. 193-5.

7. xcii pp. 230-1. McLeod, i pp. 488-9.

8. cii. p. 250.

9. ciii. p. 251. Malaya Chetti was an *alias* of Chinnana Chetti.

būmi śunkam (bhomij sionkan). What this brings in, you must share as you did before in regard to the villages."

We now have a long gap in the charters issued by the Vijayanagar rulers to the Dutch; but we may note in passing the existence of some charters issued by other rulers, feudatories in name, of the Vijayanagar kingdom, as these charters show the stages in the contraction of the area under the sway of the kings of Karnāṭaka. The English left Armagon for Madras in the beginning of 1640; and the Dutch received a *cowle* from Velugoṭi Venkaṭapati enabling them to go and trade at Armagon (Durgā-rayapatnām) and other places in his territory. This chieftain had made himself master of the North-east part of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the time of Rāmadeva, offered a discreet submission, when in 1629 Rāma prepared to march against him with a large force,<sup>10</sup> and, doubtless, reasserted his independence at the earliest opportunity. He was an ally of Śrīrāga who rebelled against Venkāṭa III and seized the government in 1642.<sup>11</sup> There are two charters and a letter from Tupaki Krishnapa Nayak to the Dutch governor of Coromandel, all dated in the year 1643. Tupaki Krishnapa was at this time the influential general and *de facto* ruler in the province of Gingee; the *cowle* of March 17, 1643<sup>12</sup> allows the Dutch freedom of trade in all the territory of Gingee and gives them besides a house at Tegenapatam, and a letter from Krishnapa to Arent Gardenijs written at the same time (Panguni 13, Chitrabhanu) conveys to him, in addition to a house and garden at Tegenapatam, the whole village of Tondamānattam.<sup>13</sup> Then two *cowles* dated 3rd November 1643 reiterated all the privileges mentioned in the first, and gave jurisdiction to the Dutch over the residents of Porto Novo, Pondicherry and Tegenapatam, and Krishnapa swears by his father Venkaṭapanāick's name that he will abide by the terms of the *cowles*.<sup>14</sup>

It is thus clear that the Vijayanagar kingdom whose rulers gloried at one time in the title of 'rulers of the three seas' had lost all control of the extensive sea board of Southern India.

All was not over yet. In Pulicat the writ of Vijayanagar ran for some time more. Śrī Rāga visited Pulicat on the 28th April 1643

10. McLeod i. p. 487.

11. *ib.* ii. p. 395.

12. Heeres clii pp. 394-99.

13. *ib.* pp. 399-400.

14. Heeres, clx pp. 417-19. This Venkatapa is different from the Velugoti Venkatapa mentioned above.

and was received in Fort Geldria with honour, and in his turn he made a present to the Dutch company of one half of the tolls collected in Pulicat on all incoming and out-going goods.<sup>15</sup> This was in addition to the freedom from all tolls for the company's own trade. The *cowle* conveying the gift is dated April 29, 1643, (Subhānu, Viśākham, new moon). But the Dutch found that difficulties cropped up with the leaseholders who held the lease of the other half of the tolls of Pulicat, and there was also much trouble due to the invasion of the Golconda forces. In spite of a bilateral agreement with the lessees concluded in September 1644,<sup>16</sup> the Dutch seemed to have gained little out of this gift. Once more Śrī Ranga had to regulate the affairs of Pulicat in April-May 1646. The Dutch had stood by him in his war with Golconda, and the king gave evidence of his gratitude and of his good sense in the arrangements he made. He gave the Dutch the entire lease of Pulicat for an annual payment of 8000 pardaos, of which they were to keep 2000 as compensation for damages they had suffered in the past and remit the remaining 6000 to him. Besides, he gave them the usufruct of the income of seven villages round about Pulicat, a privilege which other lessees had enjoyed before, and only stipulated for an addition of two horses and some 'rarities' to the usual annual present of an elephant, a horse and so on.<sup>17</sup>

The last occasion on which Śrī Ranga dealt with the Dutch at Pulicat was in October 1646 when, for reasons not quite evident, he once more confirmed all the *cowles* and gifts granted before; but the days of his overlordship of Pulicat were numbered, and by the end of the year Pulicat definitely passed under Golconda, and the first *cowle* from Mir Jumla to Arnold Heussen, the then Dutch governor of Pulicat, is dated the last day of 1646 A. D.<sup>18</sup>

15. Heeres cliii pp. 403-5. McLeod, ii p. 180.

16. clxiii pp. 426-9.

17. clxxvi. pp. 472-4. McLeod ii p. 402.

18. Heeres clxxx. p. 486.